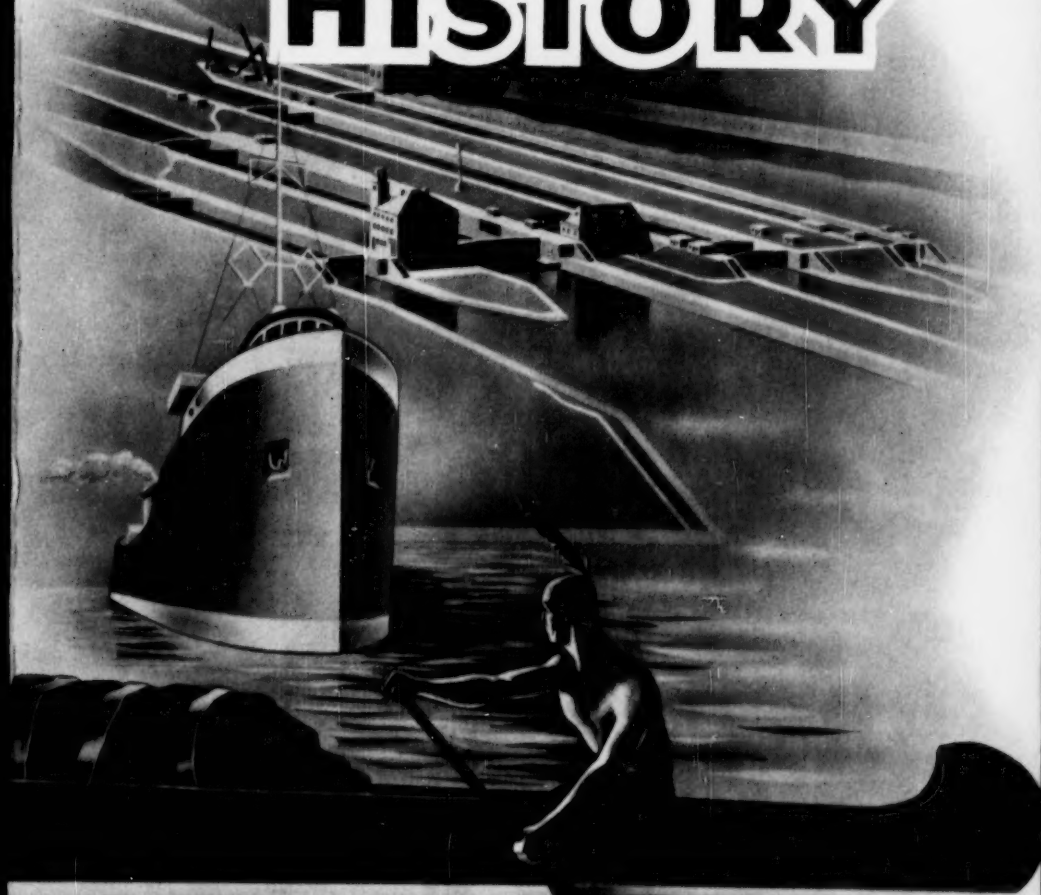


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Early Movement for the St. Mary's Falls Ship Canal

Clark F. Norton

ALTHOUGH THE ST. MARY'S FALLS SHIP CANAL was not opened for traffic until 1855, the movement for its construction can be traced back at least to the earliest statehood period. Moreover, in 1839 a long forgotten, unsuccessful attempt was made by the state to build a canal at the Sault de Ste Marie which resulted in a most remarkable controversy with the Federal government. During this dispute the state of Michigan directly blamed the United States government for having thwarted its canal building project illegally and condemned federal intervention as a "reckless disregard of the rights and honor of the state of Michigan."¹

Michigan's first state constitution of 1835 decreed that the state government should encourage internal improvements "in relation to roads, canals and navigable waters."² In less than five years the young state embarked upon a gigantic program of public works whose planners projected three railroads and two canals cutting across the state from east to west in addition to the canal at the Sault. While parts of two railroads were built under state authority, nearly two decades elapsed before the navigable waterway between Lake Superior and Lake Huron became a reality.

The need for a ship canal around the falls of the St. Mary's River had long been apparent. Although the river is about seventy-five miles long, it was obstructed at many places, especially at the rapids some fifteen miles from the mouth. Here in the space of approximately one-half mile, there was a drop of over eighteen feet in elevation, which compensated for most of the twenty-foot difference in the height of Lake Superior and Lake Huron. At the only channel

¹"Report of Special Committee, relative to the Interference of United States Troops with the Construction of the Ship Canal around the Falls of de Ste Marie," in *Documents Accompanying the Journal of the House of Representatives, of the State of Michigan, at the Annual Session of 1840*, 2:489-90 (Detroit, 1840).

²Harold M. Dorr, *The Michigan Constitutional Conventions of 1835-36: Debates and Proceedings*, 3:606 (Ann Arbor, 1940).

between these two major waterways, the river at the rapids was a churning, foaming mass of water which rushed down with great speed, and effectually prevented the passage of all but the smallest boats and canoes.³

As early as 1797 the value of circumventing this barrier with a canal had been recognized by the Northwest Fur Company, which is reported to have built in that year a small lock thirty-eight feet long and eight feet wide on the Canadian shore that connected to a half-mile long canal. This, perhaps, was used for transportation with loaded canoes until it was burned by Americans during the War of 1812. No official records of either its operation or destruction are known to exist.⁴

On the American side, however, there appears to have been little agitation for the construction of a canal around the falls of the St. Mary's River prior to 1836, but the desirability of such a canal must have been realized for a number of years. The ruggedness and isolation of the Lake Superior region, which made transportation by land very difficult, certainly focused attention on the possibility of using the river as a means of access to Lake Superior and the vast territory to the west. At any rate official recognition of the need for this waterway did not come until Michigan attained statehood.

³For early topographical descriptions of the St. Mary's River, see the following: J. Aiken, "Lake Superior and Saulte Ste. Marie," in *Lippincott's Magazine*, 6:66 (July, 1870); Albert N. Bliss, "Federal Land Grants for Internal Improvements in the State of Michigan," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 7:57-65 (Lansing, 1886); Anna Brownell Murphy Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, 215-17 (New York, 1839); Dwight H. Kelton, *History of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal*, 6 (Detroit, 1888); John H. Pitezel, *Lights and Shades of Missionary Life*, chapters 1, 2, 14, 22, and 28 (Cincinnati, 1861); Waterways Convention, *Report of Proceedings* (Duluth, 1887).

⁴A number of sources mention this original canal and lock. See Daniel W. Harmon, *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America* (New York, 1903). Harmon, who was a partner of the Northwest Fur Company, wrote of his experiences enroute from Montreal to posts beyond Lake Superior about 1800. See also Captain Ralph Henry Bruyères, "Report of 1802," in the *Canadian Magazine*, 38:31 (November, 1911); E. S. Wheeler to —, August 12, 1889, in the office of St. Mary's Falls Canal; J. J. Kehoe, "Sault St. Marie Ship Canal," in the *Canadian Magazine*, 1:589 (September, 1893); Otto Fowle, *Sault St. Marie and Its Great Waterway*, 235-37 (New York, 1925). Franchère encountered refugees from the American attack on the Canadian Sault July 26, 1814. See Gabriel Franchère, *A Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America*, edited by Milo Milton Quaife. 274-75 (Chicago, 1954).

In 1836 and again in 1837 Michigan's first state governor, young Stevens T. Mason, stressed the importance of internal improvements for future state progress and advocated the enactment by the legislature of a broad program of public works. Among other transportation facilities he proposed a canal at the Sault, for which he suggested petitioning Congress to extend aid. If the national government should be unwilling to provide help for its construction, Mason urged the state to undertake the project alone because "the expenditure of \$100,000 in the construction of this canal, would be so trifling a matter when compared to the advantages growing out of it."⁵

The state legislature took prompt action in response to Governor Mason's plea. Acts passed on March 21, 1837, established a state Board of Commissioners of seven members to supervise internal improvements, authorized the floating of a \$5,000,000 bond issue to finance the public works program, and directed the governor to hire a competent engineer to survey a route for the proposed Sault canal. To aid in the construction of the latter \$25,000 was appropriated "out of any money that shall come into the treasury of this state for the purposes of internal improvements. . . ."⁶

John Almy, who was appointed engineer by the governor, surveyed the Sault area the same year and drew up plans for a canal and locks which he estimated would cost \$112,544. In his annual message of 1838 Governor Mason recommended that this sum should be appropriated.⁷ Before acting, however, the legislature sent a

⁵*Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, edited by George N. Fuller, 1:196 (Lansing, 1925). For the 1836 recommendation, see *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, 1:169-70. There is evidence that these advantages were well understood by 1838. In that year one newspaper noted that some seven thousand barrels of fish valued at \$108,000 were taken the year before from Lake Superior, and that such trade necessitated immediate construction of a ship canal. *Michigan State Journal* (Ann Arbor), November 22, 1838. Another writer stated that the "shores of Lake Superior are represented to abound with valuable mines of copper and iron, and the timber is said to be admirably adapted to ship-building." *Michigan State Journal* (Ann Arbor), January 17, 1839.

⁶"An Act Authorizing the Construction of a Ship Canal around the Falls of St. Mary's," in *Acts of the Legislature of the State of Michigan; Passed at the Annual Session of 1837*, 144 (Detroit, 1837); *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan; 1837*, 108, 113-14, 125, 130, 214-15, 233, 238, 240, 247 (Detroit, 1837); *Journal of the Senate of the State of Michigan*, . . . 1837, 192, 216, 363, 384 (Detroit, 1837).

⁷*Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, 1:223.

resolution to Congress requesting a donation of land to aid in building the canal. Finally, the legislature on April 5 appropriated an additional \$25,000 for the canal, contingent upon the failure of Congress to make provision for a canal at its current session.⁸

In less than six months the Board of Commissioners contracted with James Smith and Uriel Driggs of Buffalo for the construction of the upper level of the canal,⁹ at the same time stipulating that work was to be completed by September 1, 1839. Shortly thereafter the contractors made an agreement with Aaron Weeks of Mt. Clemens whereby the latter assumed a one-third share of the canal contract in return for turning over to the company "the vessel *Eliza Ward*, completely rigged." Weeks was to bear one third of the expense or possible loss as well as to share in one third of the profit from the contract. In addition he pledged to devote one half of his time to the canal project and to furnish "flour, pork and other materials at the prime cost to be paid out of the money received from the state."¹⁰

State officials apparently believed that the canal and locks would be completed on schedule. Governor Mason pointed out in his annual message early in January, 1839, that the contract had been

⁸"An Act Supplementary to an Act Authorizing the Construction of a Ship Canal around the Falls of Ste. Marie," in *Acts of the Legislature of the State of Michigan; Passed at the Adjourned Session of 1837, and the Regular Session of 1838*, 190 (Detroit, 1838). *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan*; . . . 1838, 39, 241, 288, 390, 402, 419 (Detroit, 1838); *Journal of the Senate of the State of Michigan*, . . . 1838, 197, 245, 349, 350, 353, 389 (Detroit, 1838); "Report of the Select Committee, relative to the Construction of a Ship Canal around the Falls of St. Marie," in *Documents Accompanying the Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan, at the Annual Session in 1838*, 570-71 (Detroit, 1838); "Report of the Committee on State Affairs, relative to the Application of This State for Donations of Lands for Internal Improvements, Etc.," in *Documents Accompanying the Journal of the Senate, of the State of Michigan, at the Annual Session in 1838*, 431-50 (Detroit, 1838).

⁹"Report of John Almy, Chief Engineer on the River Improvements and Sault Ste. Marie Canal," in *Documents Accompanying the Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan, at the Annual Session in 1839*, 320 (Detroit, 1839).

¹⁰"Affidavits of Aaron Weeks and Others, and other Documents, relative to the Sault de Ste Marie Canal, Transmitted by the Executive with His Annual Message of January 8, 1840," in *Documents Accompanying the Journal of the Senate, of the State of Michigan, at the Annual Session of 1840*, 2:595-96 ([Detroit], 1840).

let and that "the work itself will be commenced at an early day."¹¹ Rix Robinson, who had been named acting commissioner for the canal, reported to the legislature that "nothing has transpired to cause a belief that the contractors . . . will not be ready in the coming spring to enter on their works with energy, agreeable to the spirit of said contract."¹² Accordingly the legislature on April 19 authorized the canal commissioner "to advance to the present contractors (on good security) a sum not exceeding five thousand dollars."¹³

A new Board of Internal Improvement was established by law about the same time to replace the earlier Board of Commissioners. At its first meeting Rix Robinson was elected president of the board and was assigned to have general charge of the canal project, while Tracy M'Cracken was appointed engineer and Samuel L. Fuller surveyor of the canal.¹⁴ On April 26 Robinson, as president of the board, advanced \$5,000 to the contractors,¹⁵ thus setting the stage for the controversial fiasco the following month.

In the meantime United States authorities had taken cognizance of the state's intention to build a canal around the falls of the St. Mary's River. The acting assistant quartermaster at Fort Brady, Lieutenant William Root, had notified the quartermaster general of the United States on January 14, 1839, that Michigan had appropriated funds and had contracted for the canal's construction. Root had pointed out in his letter that the proposed canal, "would cross the public mill race or feeder belonging to the United States' saw mill, . . . which of course would make the mill useless. . . ."¹⁶ In reply to Root's request for instructions, the acting quartermaster

¹¹*Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan, 1839*, 9 (Detroit, 1839).

¹²"Report of Rix Robinson, Acting Commissioner of River Improvements and Sault Ste. Marie Canal," in *Documents . . . House, . . . 1839*, 314.

¹³"A Joint Resolution Authorizing the Acting Commissioner on the St. Marie's Canal to Advance Money," in *Acts of the Legislature of the State of Michigan, Passed at the Annual Session of 1839 . . .*, 263 (Detroit, 1839).

¹⁴"Annual Report of the Board of Internal Improvement. . . . December 20, 1839," in *Documents Accompanying the Journal of the Senate of the State of Michigan, at the Annual Session of 1840*, 1:628-29.

¹⁵"Annual Report of the Board of Internal Improvement. . . . 1839," in *Documents . . . Senate . . . 1840*, 1:651.

¹⁶"Annual Report of the Board of Internal Improvement. . . . 1839," in *Documents . . . Senate . . . 1840*, 1:696.

general of the United States, Henry Stanton, had written on March 6 that the contractor should not be allowed to interfere in any way with the millrace which, Stanton said, was regarded as of the "greatest importance." However, Root was ordered in the same letter not to object to the work "being conducted through the military reservation or grounds, provided it can be done without serious injury to the interests of the United States."¹⁷

After receiving the \$5,000 advance on the contract, Aaron Weeks assembled men, supplies, and tools and set out for the Sault, where he arrived with his party on May 11. Almost immediately he was served a copy of Stanton's letter by Root, who also informed him in a separate written message that the United States would not permit any work on the canal which might injure the millrace. Weeks thereupon wrote to Root on May 13, inquiring whether the contractors would be allowed to proceed peacefully and asserting that they were bound by the state of Michigan to excavate for the canal along lines laid out by the state engineer even if they intersected with the millrace. He concluded with the bold assertion that "Therefore we shall proceed to work on said line of canal, and cannot allow water to flow through said race, where the line of canal crosses the same, as it will entirely frustrate the object that the state of Michigan has . . . ; and the contractors will be obliged to abandon said work at a very great loss to themselves. . . ."¹⁸

At this point in the negotiations the commander of Fort Brady, Captain A. Johnson, took charge. He immediately dispatched a message to Weeks in unmistakable terms, stating that the army would not permit the canal to bisect the millrace. When Weeks, despite these warnings, started a group of laborers working on the canal near the millrace on May 16, Captain Johnson marched on them with an armed company of about thirty regular soldiers and forcibly prevented the contractor and his men from continuing with the project.¹⁹ All sources agree that this summary action by United

¹⁷"Annual Report of the Board of Internal Improvement. . . . 1839," in *Documents* . . . Senate . . . 1840, 1:690.

¹⁸"Annual Report of the Board of Internal Improvement. . . . 1839," in *Documents* . . . Senate . . . 1840, 1:690-91.

¹⁹See Aaron Weeks' and William Root's accounts of this and an affidavit by an eyewitness to the event in *Documents* . . . Senate . . . 1840, 1:692, 697-98; 2:593.

States troops stationed at Fort Brady ended the attempt to build the canal in 1839, even though a conditional agreement was later reached which might have permitted the project to continue.

Less than two weeks after this forcible cessation of construction activities a deputy quartermaster general, Henry Whiting, who was stationed at Detroit, wrote to his superior in Washington that he had information indicating that the millrace involved in the dispute would be "almost useless without extensive repairs" and that intersection of the millrace by the proposed canal might help rather than harm its operation because the water in the millrace "occasionally fails." Whiting said further that he had just written to Lieutenant Root at the Sault suggesting that, if his instructions from the quartermaster department left him any discretion he permit the canal to be opened "provided that the engineer will assume the obligation to leave the raceway in no worse condition than it now is."²⁰

The acting quartermaster general, Henry Stanton, granted approval of Whiting's plan in a letter to the latter on June 6 which authorized the contractors to proceed with the canal construction if they would agree to leave the raceway in as useful a state as before. Stanton indicated some ignorance of the problem, however, because he expressed surprise that the state would survey a route for a projected canal "through the military reservation at the Sault de Ste Marie" without informing the War Department. Actually, the line of the canal would not have passed through the military reservation, although it would have cut through some of the public domain.²¹

In the meantime the contractors took the position that they had done all within their power to complete the contract but had been prevented from further work by the intervention of the Federal government. Moreover, Aaron Weeks reported to the Michigan Board of Internal Improvements that because he and his associates had incurred considerable expense in procuring supplies and men

²⁰Henry Whiting to Henry Stanton, Detroit, May 28, 1839, in "Annual Report of the Board of Internal Improvement. . . . 1839," in *Documents . . . Senate . . . 1840*, 1:698. Whiting did recognize the great value of the proposed canal, for he wrote that it "will no doubt hereafter be of much importance."

²¹Henry Stanton to Henry Whiting, Washington, June 6, 1839, in "Annual Report of the Board of Internal Improvement. . . . 1839," in *Documents . . . Senate . . . 1840*, 1:699.

and in transporting them to the canal site, they would hold the state responsible "for all just and equitable damages they have or may sustain."²²

The report of the incident made by Acting Quartermaster General Stanton to Secretary of War Joel R. Poinsett placed the blame squarely on the contractors. Stanton supported the action of his subordinates in the War Department fully, arguing that they had imposed the original restriction on the project in the belief that "the proposed state work might be accomplished by a slight deviation from the proposed route." He further asserted that his aides had believed the warning given the contractors would be sufficient to induce them "to suspend their operations, or at least to confine them to other sections of the work than that which would cut the millrace, until the question could be decided by the proper authority at Washington."²³

When Governor Mason protested to Poinsett about the federal action, the secretary of war replied in no uncertain terms that the contractors had caused the difficulty "by their own precipitancy." He assured Mason that the War Department had no intention of obstructing works of internal improvement in Michigan and that if the contractors "had sought by a friendly conference to show the officer commanding the station, that the course proposed would not be injurious to the interests of the government, they would have been permitted to proceed. . . ."²⁴

These exchanges resulted in an amicable settlement between national and state authorities which apparently cleared the way for the canal construction to continue. The Michigan Board of Internal Improvements, through Tracy M'Cracken, the chief engineer of the canal, directed Samuel L. Fuller, the resident engineer at the Sault, to assure the commander at Fort Brady that the "millrace of the United States saw mill will not be interfered with, by which the

²²Aaron Weeks [to the Michigan Board of Internal Improvement] May 29, 1839, in "Annual Report of the Board of Internal Improvement. . . . 1839," in *Documents* . . . Senate . . . 1840, 1:693.

²³Henry Stanton to Joel R. Poinsett, June 19, 1839, in "Annual Report of the Board of Internal Improvement. . . . 1839," in *Documents* . . . Senate . . . 1840, 1:694-95.

²⁴Joel R. Poinsett to Stevens T. Mason, June 20, 1839, in "Annual Report of the Board of Internal Improvement. . . . 1839," in *Documents* . . . Senate . . . 1840, 1:694.

same shall be injured or left in any worse condition, (by the construction of said canal,) than it now is in."²⁵ As a result Fuller signed in M'Cracken's name an agreement on August 9 assuring the commandant that the millrace "shall be left in as good condition at the completion of the said ship canal, as it may be at the commencement of the work," and stipulating that "the said state engineer shall cause a gate to be placed in the said raceway, at or near the point of intersection of the above canal."²⁶

Aaron Weeks was still at the Sault when the above agreement was signed. Fuller reported to M'Cracken on August 9 that "one of the contractors, Mr. Weeks, is here with some laboring men, but I doubt whether he intends commencing work."²⁷ Although the contract with the state did not expire until September 1, there is no evidence to indicate that the contractors again started construction on the canal. M'Cracken later certified that the contractors had abandoned the project and "have since refused to resume, although duly notified that they would be allowed to proceed without further interruption."²⁸

An extensive, bitter dispute followed between the contractors and state authorities on the question of who was to blame for failure to fulfill this obligation and whether the contractors were entitled to further payment. In December Aaron Weeks sent to Governor-elect William Woodbridge a long letter defending his position and a number of papers relating to the ill-fated canal project. He maintained that entire responsibility for the fiasco belonged to the United States Army officers who had intended from the beginning to prevent his "going forward with the job." Weeks claimed that he had made an attempt to carry out the contract "as far as possible for any one in like circumstances, as the engineer was not on the ground and the work not laid out. . . ." He explained that the

²⁵"Annual Report of the Board of Internal Improvement. . . . 1839," in *Documents . . . Senate . . . 1840*, 1:662.

²⁶Samuel L. Fuller to Tracy M'Cracken, August 9, 1839, in "Annual Report of the Board of Internal Improvement. . . . 1839," in *Documents . . . Senate . . . 1840*, 1:663.

²⁷Fuller to M'Cracken, August 9, 1839, in "Annual Report of the Board of Internal Improvement. . . . 1839," in *Documents . . . Senate . . . 1840*, 1:663.

²⁸"Annual Report of the Board of Internal Improvement. . . . 1839," in *Documents . . . Senate . . . 1840*, 1:662.

reason why work had commenced at the millrace was because it was necessary first to drain the ground and prepare it for excavation, a decision which he vindicated with the following argument:

. . . I could not so profitably prosecute my job by beginning at any other point; and I can find nothing in my contract which directs any point at which I should commence, and I know of no good reason why I should not consult my own interest in the matter, especially when it did not in any manner affect the interest of the state . . . I would further state that it is a fact susceptible of proof that Lieutenant Root said before I arrived on the ground, that if he received certain letters from Washington the work should not go on.²⁰

Weeks estimated that his expenditures on the canal totaled over \$7,000. The items of expense ranged all the way from \$3 for the burial of a dead man to \$1,550 in freight charges for transportation. He valued the time he himself spent on the project at \$1,000.³⁰ His charges against Lieutenant Root were supported by affidavits sworn out and filed by two of his assistants, who testified that upon their arrival at Sault de Ste Marie on May 9 they had heard Root say that "he should be under the necessity of preventing the contractors from going on with said work" and that he would be forced to drive them off if they attempted to do so.³¹

State authorities in 1839 paid little credence or attention to the protests of Aaron Weeks. Rix Robinson, who was the commissioner of the state in charge of the canal, certified that all difficulties and objections on the part of the United States to the construction had been removed but that "no disposition appears to have been manifested on the part of the contractors to proceed with this work since that time."³² The Board of Internal Improvements was much more

²⁰Aaron Weeks to William Woodbridge, December 11, 1839, in Affidavits of Aaron Weeks and Others, and Other Documents, relative to the Sault de Ste Marie Canal, . . . January 8, 1840," in *Documents . . . Senate* . . . 1840, 2:588.

³⁰The exact total of his estimated expenditures was \$7,047.52. "Affidavits of Aaron Weeks and Others, and Other Documents, relative to the Sault de Ste Marie Canal, . . . January 8, 1840," in *Documents . . . Senate* . . . 1840, 2:591-92.

³¹"Affidavits of Aaron Weeks and Others, and Other Documents, relative to the Sault de Ste Marie Canal, . . . January 8, 1840," in *Documents . . . Senate* . . . 1840, 2:592-93.

³²Report of Rix Robinson . . . to . . . the Board of . . . Internal Improvement . . . , in "Annual Report of the Board of Internal Improvement. . . . 1839," in *Documents . . . Senate* . . . 1840, 1:662.

severe than the commissioner in condemning their canal contractors. It adopted a set of resolutions which asserted that their action "evinces an evident want of good faith . . . inasmuch as abundant room was to be had on said work for them to commence and continue their labors for a length of time, without interfering with the millrace. . . ." Although the period of the contract had expired on September 1, the board ordered the contractors "immediately to proceed energetically with their work."³³

In 1840 a remarkable reversal occurred in the official attitude of the state with respect to placing responsibility for failure to carry out the canal construction contract. This reversal probably stemmed mainly from the change in political control of the state from the Democratic to the Whig party. Keynote of this new policy was struck by Governor William Woodbridge in his first annual message on January 7, during which he attacked the national government for unconstitutionally interfering with the power of the state to build works of internal improvement. He contended that if Michigan had been admitted to the Union on an equal footing with the original states, it must possess "the same ample right to establish roads and construct canals, at her pleasure, within her proper borders, as she can have to regulate, in any other respect whatsoever, her own internal police. . . ." He shifted blame for the millrace incident from the contractors to the national government entirely by denying that the War Department had any right or reason to interfere:

It is not understood that the line of the canal encroaches at all upon any ground obtained or reserved for the erection of forts, magazines, etc., but if it *do* so encroach, I am not acquainted with any legislative act of this state, which conveys to the United States the right to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over the place in question.³⁴

Thus Governor Woodbridge thrust the issue of states rights into the dispute. During the next few years numerous charges were leveled at the United States by administrative and legislative officers of Michigan for having wrongly prevented the state from building the canal. Responsibility of the contractors was either minimized or eliminated entirely in these official blasts at the national government.

³³"Annual Report of the Board of Internal Improvement. . . . 1839," in *Documents . . . Senate . . . 1840*, 1:699.

³⁴"Governor's Message," in *Documents . . . House . . . 1840*, 1:8-10.

Typical of this attitude was an 1840 report of a special legislative committee, which plaintively complained that

the people of Michigan had no reason to believe that that government would not be less indulgent, less liberal, and less just to a young and feeble state, just entering the Union, under circumstances of peculiar embarrassment, than it was or had been to older or larger states.³⁵

This report called the sawmill on the reservation "dilapidated and useless" and blamed the military authorities for not informing the state earlier about their objections to the planned route of the canal. The following passage from the committee report well illustrates the intensity of emotion prevalent among Michigan Whigs in 1840 on this question:

Your committee are of the opinion that such a course of arbitrary proceedings . . . exhibits a reckless disregard of the rights and honor of the state of Michigan, and is unwarranted by any provision in the Constitution of the United States . . . But as if her humiliation was not yet complete, an attempt is now made by the general government to trample in the dust her legislative enactments, and treat with contempt the legitimate and constitutional exercise of her sovereignty.³⁶

The committee demanded that the United States should reimburse the state the \$5,000 the latter had advanced to the contractors "together with all the damages the state has sustained by reason of the arbitrary and unjust measures."³⁷

Again in 1841 the Michigan legislature adopted resolutions, similar to those of the previous year, denouncing the "injury inflicted upon the rights of the state of Michigan, by the general government" and proclaiming that this insult "calls loudly for atonement."³⁸

³⁵"Report of Special Committee, relative to the Interference of United States Troops with the Construction of the Ship Canal around the Falls of de Ste Marie," in *Documents . . . House . . . 1840*, 2:485-93. For action on the resolution establishing the committee, see *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan, at the Annual Session of the Legislature for 1840*, 43, 407, 453, 524, 633 (Detroit, 1840).

³⁶"Report of Special Committee, relative to the Interference of United States Troops with the Construction of the Ship Canal around the Falls of de Ste Marie," in *Documents . . . House . . . 1840*, 2:489-90.

³⁷The Michigan members of Congress were instructed to press for monetary compensation from the national government. Subsequently, on May 19, 1840, Representative Isaac E. Cray presented these resolutions to the United States House of Representatives. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States: Being the . . . Session . . . Begun . . . December 2, 1839 . . .*, 956-57 (26 Congress, 2 session) (Washington, D.C., 1840).

³⁸A special committee, appointed on January 12, 1841, reported out the

When William Woodbridge went to the United States Senate in 1842 he seized the opportunity to present a petition asking that an indemnity be paid Aaron Weeks and to attack again with scathing phrases the actions of the national government in the canal-building argument. This time Woodbridge displayed an even more favorable attitude toward the inopportune position of contractor Aaron Weeks, describing his dilemma in such a way as to completely absolve him of any guilt or complicity:

Astonished and appalled at this unexpected difficulty, in a situation in which it was impossible for him to have any timely communication with the State board of internal improvements, and beyond the reach of professional advice, he was thus thrown back upon the suggestions of his own energetic but uncultured mind as to what course he should pursue.

He had already incurred expenses more than enough to absorb his fortune; he had stipulated, under a severe and heavy penalty, to fulfill the contract he had entered into with the State; he had heard the State called a "sovereign State," and supposed she possessed at least the right and power to regulate and establish her own roads and canals, and other public works; the Indian title to the country had long, long before, been extinguished; and the site of the proposed canal was far from any of the defensive works of the garrison . . . no alternative seemed to remain but to reembark his men.³⁹

In the meantime the state of Michigan, because of the unfavorable financial condition of the state, the nation-wide economic slump,

resolutions on March 1 and they were adopted on March 26. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan* . . . 1841, 69 (Detroit, 1841). The resolutions were printed in "Report of Special Committee, in relation to the Unauthorized and Forcible Interruption, by the Troops of the United States, of the Public Works at the Sault de Ste Marie," in *Documents Accompanying the Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan, at the Annual Session of 1841*, 2:192-93 (Detroit, 1841).

³⁹"Speech of Mr. Woodbridge, of Michigan. . . April 21, 1842 on Presenting the Petition of Aaron Weeks, of Michigan," in the *Congressional Globe*, appendix: 796 (27 Congress, 2 session) ([Washington, D.C., 1842]). For legislative action on Senator William Woodbridge's petition, see *Journal of the Senate of the United States . . . Being the . . . Session . . . Begun . . . December 6, 1841 . . .*, 305 (27 Congress, 2 session) (Washington, D.C., 1841); and *Congressional Globe*, 11:434 (27 Congress, 2 session) (Washington, D.C., 1842). It is interesting to note that in the same speech Woodbridge presented petitions for the construction of two harbors in Michigan by Congress, but that a Michigan newspaper, in reporting on the senator's address, quoted in full his comments about the two harbor petitions yet omitted completely any mention of his views on the canal dispute. *Western Statesman* (Marshall), May 26, 1842.

and the switch in partisan control of the state executive and legislative branches, had decided to greatly limit if not completely abandon its earlier grandiose scheme of internal improvements. Following the lead of Governor Woodbridge, who charged in his first annual message that the whole program was unwise and profitless for the state,⁴⁰ the Michigan legislature on January 18, 1840, passed a joint resolution directing the Board of Commissioners established in 1837 to supervise internal improvements to "suspend all operations on the works of internal improvement, in all cases which would not be an infringement of contracts already entered into. . . ."⁴¹ A number of sources seem to indicate widespread opinion that the state had attempted a program of public works not only more costly than it could afford but also more extensive and diverse than it needed.⁴²

A state senate committee report in 1841 fully disclosed the financial plight of Michigan's internal improvement fund. It was estimated that it would cost \$20,000,000 to complete the various projected works, that \$3,000,000 of the \$5,000,000 borrowed for the fund had already been spent, that the annual interest on the loan amounted to \$200,000, and that the profit from all the works then completed was only about \$20,000 a year.⁴³ There seemed to be agreement, however, both among private groups and state officials, on the necessity of completing construction on the Central Railroad.⁴⁴

⁴⁰"Governor's Message," in *Documents . . . House . . . 1840*, 1:6.

⁴¹*Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan . . . 1840*, 38:72-76.

⁴²One editor commented in 1840 on this situation in the following way: "The evil of our legislation consists in grasping at too much—in applying the public funds to works, which neither the resources of the state, nor the actual wants of the people justified—in dividing the energies of the state in a manner that they have become inefficient in any one of its efforts. . . ." *Western Statesman* (Marshall), February 13, 1840. A resident of Grand Rapids in a private letter described the Michigan internal improvement program as "that map of extravagance and folly, that political incendiarism and puerile ignorance [sic]" and said that it could be more appropriately called "our system of In. Destruction." Simeon M. Johnson to Lucius Lyon, March 11, 1840, in the Lucius Lyon Letters in the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan.

⁴³"Report of the Committee on Internal Improvement, to whom was Referred Several Documents in relation to the Subject of Internal Improvement," in *Documents Accompanying the Journal of the Senate, of the State of Michigan, at the Annual Session of 1841*, 2:14-16 (Detroit, 1841).

⁴⁴As early as 1839 the idea of abandoning all public works projects except the Central Railroad had been publicly expressed. See a letter signed

Although the state practically abandoned after 1840 its intention of constructing at its own expense a canal at the Sault, there was an ever-increasing demand by the state and private citizens for aid from the Federal government for this purpose. During the next twelve years Michigan senators and representatives in Congress presented numerous petitions asking for such help and introduced several bills providing specific appropriations for building the canal. A memorial to Congress seeking federal aid, which was adopted in 1840 by the Michigan legislature, stressed the value of the projected canal in developing forest, mineral, fishing, fur, and agricultural resources of the Upper Peninsula and also advanced the rather dubious theory that it would "end the policy of the British government, of keeping up a British influence among our frontier tribes of Indians. . . ."⁴⁵ Senators John Norvell and Augustus S. Porter of Michigan managed to push through a bill in the United States Senate that year which granted the state one hundred thousand acres of land "to aid said State in construction of a canal around the falls of St. Marie,"⁴⁶ but the bill died in the House of Representatives.⁴⁷ Norvell was

"Honestus" printed in the *Michigan State Journal* (Ann Arbor), April 11, 1839, and in the *Western Statesman* (Marshall), November 28, 1839. It was claimed in 1840 that the "Central Road is the only one, when completed, that will enable the state to meet the interest on her loans without resorting to direct taxation." *Michigan State Journal* (Ann Arbor), March 25, 1840. For some of the frequent demands made to continue work on the Central Railroad, see articles in the *Western Statesman* (Marshall), January 23, February 13, August 5, December 3, 1840; and in the *Michigan State Journal* (Ann Arbor), August 18, December 3, 1840. A select committee of the state senate reported in 1840 that "a railroad across the more southern, and now more densely settled, part of the peninsula" would be much more productive and profitable than the northern railroad, the Saginaw canal, or the canal at Sault de Ste Marie. "Report of the Select Committee on the Five Million Loan, and Internal Improvement Fund," in *Documents . . . Senate . . . 1840*, 2:551. One member of the Board of Internal Improvements wrote that "we cannot hesitate, for a moment in devoting all our energies for the completion of the Central Roads. . . ." John Van Fossen in the *Western Statesman* (Marshall), January 9, 1841.

⁴⁵"Report of a Select Committee . . . relative to a Ship Canal around the Sault de Ste Marie, Etc.," in *Documents . . . House . . . 1840*, 2:177; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan . . . 1840*, 47, 113, 137, 440-41, 527; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Michigan . . . 1840*, 175, 180 (Detroit, 1840).

⁴⁶*Journal of the Senate of the United States. . . . Being the . . . Session . . . Begun . . . December 2, 1839 . . .*, 67, 72, 289, 328-29, 336, 350, 353 (26 Congress, 1 session) (Washington, D.C., 1839); *Congressional Globe*, 8:306-7, 310, 325, 342, 354, 364, 368 (26 Congress 1 session) (Washington, D.C., 1840).

⁴⁷It appears that Representative Isaac E. Crary did not, for whatever

reported to have attacked the niggardliness of the Federal government toward Michigan in the following rather bitter passage:

They have refused to comple [sic] the roads which they themselves had commenced in that State. They have despoiled her of rich and fertile territory on her southern borders. They have received into their Treasury nearly eleven millions of dollars from sales of the public lands in her limits; and, sir, they have graciously expended not quite four hundred thousand dollars, all told, on harbors and roads within those limits! These have been the evidences of the liberality of this Government towards Michigan; and she may chiefly thank the honorable Senator [Henry Clay] and his friends for the generous amount of that liberality! But this canal is in the moon or beyond the extreme verge of civilization [according to Senator Clay]. Sir, the honorable Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Clay) ought to have known the country better. Gentlemen have, on this occasion, made a sorry exhibition of their geographical and statistical attainments.⁴⁸

During the debate in the United States Senate in 1840 several new reasons in favor of building the Sault canal were propounded by the Michigan senators. In addition to developing natural resources, Norvell justified the project on the grounds that it would be free for all commerce, increase the population, and enhance the price of the vast public domain of the United States.⁴⁹ Porter stated the unique arguments that it would "put back into service the innumerable sailing vessels which have been made idle by the coming of steamships" and would "break the monopoly held by the two great American and the British fur trading companies."⁵⁰

Several other United States Senators and Representatives from Michigan during the 1840's, including Lucius Lyon, Jacob M. Howard, William Woodbridge, and Robert McClelland, pressed in Congress for federal aid to build the canal, but all to no avail.⁵¹

reason, make any extensive efforts to support the bill in the House of Representatives. See the *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States: Being the . . . Session . . . Begun . . . December 2, 1839 . . .*, 861, 865, 1348 (26 Congress, 1 session) (Washington, D.C., 1840).

⁴⁸"Speech of Mr. Norvell, of Michigan. . . . April 21, 1840," in the *Congressional Globe*, volume 8, appendix:350 (26 Congress, 1 session) ([Washington, D.C., 1840]).

⁴⁹"Speech of Mr. Norvell, of Michigan. . . . April 21, 1840," in the *Congressional Globe*, volume 8, appendix:349-51 (26 Congress, 1 session).

⁵⁰"Remarks of Mr. Porter . . . April 21, 1840, on the Bill Granting the State of Michigan 100,000 Acres of Land to Aid in the Construction of a Canal around the Falls of St. Mary's, Lake Superior," in the *Congressional Globe*, volume 8, appendix:828-29 (26 Congress, 1 session).

⁵¹*Journal of the Senate of the United States . . . Being the . . .*

A bill passed in 1844 by the Senate provided for construction of the canal by the United States government,⁵² but the House of Representatives adjourned without acting on the measure.⁵³ Further discovery and development of mineral resources in the Upper Peninsula during the forties led to increasing pressure on Congress.⁵⁴ Finally, Congress in 1852 granted the state of Michigan seven

Session . . . Begun . . . December 7, 1840 . . . , 28, 32, 51 (26 Congress, 2 session) (Washington, D.C., 1840); Journal of the Senate of the United States . . . Being the . . . Session . . . Begun . . . December 6, 1841 . . . , 502 (27 Congress, 2 session) (Washington, D. C., 1841); Congressional Globe, 11:408, 414, 785 (27 Congress, 2 session) (Washington, D.C., 1842). In the period from December 26, 1843, to March 28, 1844, there were numerous memorials and petitions presented in Congress asking national aid in building the canal. See Journal of the Senate of the United States . . . Being the . . . Session . . . Begun . . . December 4, 1843 . . . , 46, 48, 52, 97, 106, 118, 158, 166, 175, 180, 198 (28 Congress, 1 session) (Washington, D.C., 1843); Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States . . . Being the . . . Session . . . Begun . . . December 4, 1843 . . . , 203, 610, 916 (28 Congress, 1 session) (Washington, D.C., 1844).

⁵²*Journal of the Senate of the United States . . . Being the . . . Session . . . Begun . . . December 4, 1843 . . . , 160, 163, 308, 310 (28 Congress, 1 session); Congressional Globe, 13:144, 365, 376, 473, 629, 630 (28 Congress, 1 session) (Washington, D.C., 1844). The Senate had passed a resolution offered by Senator Augustus S. Porter directing the secretary of war to send Congress an estimate of the cost of the canal. This report, while upholding John Almy's 1837 estimate of the projected state canal, advocated that the canal be made much larger at a cost of \$454,107.60. For this report see "Report of the Secretary of War, Communicating . . . an Estimate of the Cost of Constructing a Ship Canal around the Falls of St. Mary," in Senate Public Documents, volume 3, number 120 (28 Congress, 1 session) (Washington, D.C., 1844). For Senator Porter's very able report on his bill, see "In Senate . . . April 3, 1844 . . . Porter . . . Report . . .," in Senate Public Documents, volume 4, number 268 (28 Congress, 1 session) (Washington, D.C., 1844).*

⁵³*Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States . . . Being the . . . Session . . . Begun . . . December 4, 1843, 985, 1010, (28 Congress, 1 session).*

⁵⁴In 1840 Douglass Houghton made the first systematic attempt to collect information on the copper district of the Upper Peninsula. Lucius Lyon wrote in the same year that "the upper portion of Michigan abounds in mineral wealth. . . ." Lucius Lyon to Reuben D. Turner, February 17, 1840, in the Lucius Lyon Letters at the William L. Clements Library. Houghton later wrote Lyon that, as compared to the ores from the Cornish mines, he was "disposed to think that our own will in a whole exceed them in quality." Douglass Houghton to Lucius Lyon, December 7, 1840, in the Lucius Lyon Letters. Samuel Ashmun, who claimed to have extensive knowledge of the Upper Peninsula, wrote to Governor Woodbridge that "the fact of the existence of immense beds of rich copper ore on the surface, has been, within the last year, ascertained by actual examination by practical miners. . . ." Samuel Ashmun to William Woodbridge in "Affidavits of Aaron Weeks and Others, and Other Documents, relative to the Sault de Ste Marie Canal . . . January 8, 1840," in Documents . . .

hundred and fifty thousand acres of public land to be used to finance the construction of a canal around the falls of the St. Mary's River, and three years later the first boat was locked through the finished canal.⁵⁵

To evaluate the responsibility or blame which may be properly attributed to any individuals or groups in the 1839 canal dispute is not an easy task. Most of the contemporary statements available were made either by persons directly involved in the affair or by partisan officeholders whose judgment might have been influenced by the exigencies and antagonisms of party politics. The extant newspapers of the time are of little help in this respect; few direct references to the skirmish between the canal contractors and the military contingent at the Sault have been found in current journals, and these were quite obviously highly partisan or prejudiced on one side or the other. For example one newspaper, under the suggestive headline "Outrage Upon States Rights," defended the state in the following manner about one month after the forced work stoppage at the canal site:

Presuming that the present administration, reckless as it is of everything not calculated to advance its own ambitious pretensions, and in-

Senate . . . 1840, 2:587. As early as 1840 a mining company had petitioned Congress "to be allowed the right to work mineral lands belonging to the United States along the south shore of Lake Superior." *Congressional Globe*, 7:318 (26 Congress, 1 session). In 1843 "a mine of copper of the richest kind" was reported to have been discovered at Copper Harbor, *Genesee County Democrat* (Flint), November 16, 1843. A special agent of the War Department reported in 1844 that an examination of Isle Royale revealed "large deposits [sic] of copper ore through its almost entire extent. . . ." See "In Senate . . . April 3, 1844. . . . Porter . . . Report . . .," in *Senate Public Documents*, volume 4, number 268, pages 24-29 (28 Congress, 1 session). In 1845 a vein three miles in length, of great depth, and 75 per cent pure copper was said to have been discovered at Fort Wilkins. *Michigan Argus* (Ann Arbor), April 16, 1845. Horace Greeley owned stock in a copper-mining company, visited the Copper Peninsula in 1847 and again in 1848, and gave wide-spread publicity to the copper boom. Mentor L. Williams, "Horace Greeley and Michigan Copper," in *Michigan History*, 34:120-32 (June, 1950). Robert James Hybels describes "The Lake Superior Copper Fever, 1841-47," in *Michigan History*, 34:97-119, 224-44, 309-26 (June, September, December, 1950). One source states that 116 copper-mining companies were formed and in operation in Michigan between 1845 and 1860. See Joseph H. Steere, "The Upper Peninsula: A Sketch," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 39:244 (Lansing, 1915). All this resulted in increasing agitation for the Sault canal.

⁵⁵For the best, most recent analysis of the canal construction, see Irene D. Neu, "The Building of the Sault Canal, 1852-55," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 40:25-46 (June, 1953).

consistent as it ever has been in regard to its peculiar notions of policy, would not hazard a gratuitous insult to a sovereign state, we were disposed to put little faith in the statement, at least to believe that a mistake existed somewhere. But it seems there is too much ground to pronounce the Administration guilty The first question for the people of Michigan to ask themselves is, whether the state has not the right, constituting one natural attribute of her sovereignty, to project and carry out improvements within her constitutional limits If they can interfere in this particular case, may they not in all analogous cases? . . . admitting for a moment that the state has no right to make this canal without the consent of Congress, does not the recent act of government partake of a littleness of purpose degrading to national pride? A contemplated enterprise, that is to connect the waters of the noblest inland sea in the world with those of the Atlantic; that is to open new and vast resources . . . must be thwarted because it interferes with a contemptible mill race, of no conceivable value to the government or individuals when compared to the incalculable benefits that would come to the nation from the consummation of this great work! What, shall it be said that the United States lack the magnanimity to permit a state to consummate an enterprise they themselves have not the spirit to project? We are not yet willing to believe that national pride is wholly extinct; or that the narrow-minded policy of an administration like the present is likely to fasten upon our national character a stigma so incontestably odious.⁵⁶

During the last century the pendulum of guilt seems to have swung fully from one extreme to the other with regard to this issue. At first the contractors bore the brunt of the blame. Then during the forties state officials and others placed responsibility fully on the national government, and this attitude prevailed for a number of years. For instance, in 1850 a delegate to the Michigan constitutional convention declared that the national government had "oppressed us . . . when this state made an appropriation and commenced cutting a ship canal. . . ."⁵⁷ Even twenty years after the canal had gone into operation the rather conservative James V. Campbell described the interference of troops with the contractors

⁵⁶*Michigan State Journal* (Ann Arbor), June 26, 1839.

⁵⁷This delegate, who was Elijah J. Roberts from Houghton County, made the further erroneous statement that "from that day to this, although annually importuned, she has refused or neglected, either to build this work, grant an appropriation in lands for it, or to allow us the right of way. . . ." *Report of the Proceedings and Debates on the Convention to Revise the Constitution of the State of Michigan, 1850*, 926 (Lansing, 1850). It will be recalled that Federal permission to proceed with the work was granted in 1839.

as a "gross outrage" and stated that the "official insolence . . . was offensive and disgraceful."⁵⁸ But about fifty years ago various authorities began to assert that other factors minimized the responsibility of the United States for the affair and to shift the blame once more back to the canal contractors.⁵⁹ Since then several writers have singled out Aaron Weeks as the major culprit in the whole incident and have practically absolved the national government of any blame.⁶⁰ One published version of the story even claimed that a soldier had overheard Weeks make a secret bargain with the commander of Fort Brady to commence digging the canal at the point of

⁵⁸James V. Campbell, *Outlines of the Political History of Michigan*, 502 (Detroit, 1876). To support his viewpoint Campbell cited the following criticisms of the Federal government: the great lapse of time in communications between Root and Stanton; the failure to notify the contractors of the War Department's intentions before the contractors arrived at the Sault; the worthlessness of the mill and the millrace; the fact that the millrace was not located on the military reserve; and the fact that the jurisdiction of the land in question was not ceded to the United States by the state. Campbell, *History*, 504-6.

⁵⁹For this trend see Mrs. Anna Reid Knox, "Michigan State Rights," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 30:163-67 (Lansing, 1906); Byron M. Cutcheon and Henry M. Utley, *Michigan as a Province, Territory, and State*, 3:130 (New York, 1906); and John H. Goff, *The Saint Mary's Falls Canal*, 97-99 (Detroit, 1907). In defending the role of the Federal government, Goff emphasized that the land belonged to the United States, that a treaty of 1820 with the Chippewa Indians obligated the government to maintain a perpetual right of fishing at the falls, that one of the conditions for the admission of Michigan to the Union had been that it would not interfere with the disposal of United States land within the state, that the military officers had shown a favorable spirit by later authorizing the contractors to proceed, that the \$5,000 advance made to the contractors had influenced them to shirk their duty, and that Secretary of War Poinsett, who was from states-rights conscious South Carolina, would not be likely to order a direct invasion of the rights of any state.

⁶⁰For instance one writer concluded that "there is a question as to the good faith of the contractors, who had received an advance, but who probably foresaw that future payment would come slowly if at all." Charles Moore, *History of Michigan*, 1:469 (Chicago, 1915). Another stated that "there are other facts, it would seem, that should absolve the War Department from the whole responsibility. . . ." Lawton T. Hemans, *Life and Times of Stevens Thomson Mason*, 420 (Lansing, 1920). The latter authority also claimed that the \$5,000 advance to the contractors was "a strong inducement to begin work at the one point where they were sure to be stopped, thereby furnishing the basis for an almost indisputable claim for damages in being kept from the performance of their contract by circumstances not under their control." Hemans, *Mason*, 421. The most recent general history of Michigan asserts that, "because the contractor had refused to carry out his agreement with the state in 1839, the first attempt [to build the canal] had failed." F. Clever Bald, *Michigan in Four Centuries*, 243 (New York, 1954).

intersection with the millrace so that the latter could immediately halt its construction, but no proof of this tale has been found.⁶¹

Of the three parties involved in the canal fiasco of 1839—the national government, the state government, and the contractors—the state of Michigan has been condemned the least. Although this leniency toward the state may be justified, it should be pointed out that Michigan had not officially notified the War Department that the intended line of the canal would cross the government-owned millrace. This oversight did not result from ignorance, because John Almy's survey and report in 1837 made this fact clear. The state may be properly censured also for having failed to provide a resident engineer at the Sault by the time the contractors began operations; his presence there might have been helpful in avoiding the dispute. Again vitriolic attacks by certain state officers on Aaron Weeks, especially those which imputed to him dishonest intentions, may have been somewhat rash and prejudiced.

The actions of certain key United States Army personnel, especially Lieutenant William Root, played a major role in the canal dispute of 1839. Root probably knew early in the fall of 1838 that the projected canal would have to cut through the millrace, but he neglected to inform his superior officers about this fact until the following January.⁶² More important, he implied to the quartermasters general's office in Washington that the government-owned sawmill still had considerable value to the United States. This led the acting quartermaster general to order Root not to allow the work to proceed if it would damage the millrace. Although the evidence is not conclusive, there is good reason to believe that the poor condition of the sawmill made it almost useless.⁶³

⁶¹Fowle, *Sault Ste. Marie and Its Great Waterway*, 378-80. Although Fowle stated that this story was well known, this writer has found no other reference to it, especially in the contemporary documents or other sources. One of the latest writers on the canal, Isaac DeYoung, *Greatest Waterway in the World* (Sault Ste. Marie, 1934), obviously copied rather closely from Goff's account in *The Saint Mary's Falls Canal* and adopts the same attitude toward this issue.

⁶²Weather conditions may possibly have prevented Root writing a month or more earlier; at least one resident of the Sault wrote on January 10, 1839, that "we have not had a mail here this winter." W. Cobbs to Lucius Lyon, January 10, 1839, in the Lucius Lyon Papers at the William L. Clements Library.

⁶³Only a week after the work stoppage at the canal site State Representative Henry A. Levake of Chippewa County wrote Governor Mason

Furthermore, Captain Johnson, commandant at Fort Brady, showed no disposition to negotiate with the contractors, to confer with state officials, or to compromise the dispute in any way. In view of orders from Washington not to object to the canal if the interests of the United States could be protected, his attitude is not very praiseworthy. Likewise, assuming that the Federal government was entirely justified in taking action to prevent the canal construction, one might question seriously both the necessity and the wisdom of summarily driving off the contractors with armed force. At the very least the War Department in Washington should have officially warned the state of Michigan directly that the canal would not be allowed to cut through the millrace.

Whether or not the Federal government had the lawful authority to stop the contractors from digging the canal in 1839 is complicated somewhat by the questionable status of the area which the canal would traverse. Certainly the line of the canal did not intersect the United States military reservation at the Sault as Acting Quartermaster General Stanton had assumed. On the other hand a treaty made by the government with the Chippewa Indians in 1820 had guaranteed the latter the perpetual right of fishing and encampment in the territory near the Sault.⁶⁴ Governor Woodbridge claimed that the Indian title to the land at the canal site had long been extinguished,⁶⁵ a viewpoint supported apparently by an official of the Office of Indian Affairs.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, as late as 1846 a competent observer commented that it was through this Indian reservation "that the proposed St. Mary's canal must be constructed when done."⁶⁷ At any rate, the importance of the Indian reservation status had been overestimated by several authorities, because in no case did any responsible United States official employ the treaty of 1820 as a basis of power justifying the action taken.

that he was sure the quartermaster general did not understand the situation properly because the government "had not used the mill but little for a number of years." Henry A. Levake to Stevens T. Mason, May 23, 1839, in the archives of the Michigan Historical Commission.

⁶⁴For the terms of this treaty, see Treaty with the Chippewas in "Affidavits of Aaron Weeks and Others, and Other Documents relative to the Sault de Ste Marie Canal," in *Documents . . . Senate . . . 1840*, 2:596.

⁶⁵"Governor's Message," in *Documents . . . House . . . 1840*, 1:10.

⁶⁶T. Hartley Crawford to Lucius Lyon, June 11, 1839, in the Lucius Lyon Letters at the William L. Clements Library.

⁶⁷John R. St. John, *Lake Superior Country*, 18 (New York, 1846).

Most difficult of all to assess is the liability of the contractors, in particular that of Aaron Weeks. Many hours of investigation into various sources have revealed little information about the background or character of the man who led the expedition to the Sault. Several writers have theorized that if the contractors had underestimated the cost of the canal construction they would have had a strong inducement to break that contract. This supposition seems rather unlikely, however, in view of certain facts. The contractors had made extensive preparations and had incurred considerable expense. They had proceeded to the Sault with a large amount of supplies and many men. They had not hesitated to commence the job even after the ultimatum not to do so had been served on them by the officers of Fort Brady. There is no conclusive proof that work was begun at or near the place in dispute in the hope of being quickly ejected. Week's statement explaining why it was advantageous for labor to begin at that particular location seems plausible and worthy of respect. Certainly evidence is not sufficient to charge Weeks with ulterior motives.

Some have asserted that the advance of \$5,000 to the contractors by the state exerted an unfortunate influence on their subsequent conduct. But this amount was more than offset by the claim for over \$6,000 actual expenditures, not including his own services, submitted by Weeks to the state of Michigan. Others have intimated that Weeks found his assumption of one third of the contract made by Smith and Driggs to be burdensome and unwise; again there is no proof, while on the contrary his participation in the contract does indicate that he believed the canal construction job feasible and that he expected to earn profit from the venture.

Apparently the contractors deserve some blame for failure to resume operations after the objections of the War Department to the canal construction had been removed. One can only conjecture why Weeks did not again tackle the job, but at least two reasons may have influenced his decision. First, it will be remembered that the final agreement authorizing the state to go ahead with the project was not signed until August 9, nearly three months after the contractors had been forced to leave the site by Army regulars and only three weeks before the contract itself would expire on September 1. Although Weeks and some of his men were still at

the Sault on August 9, he might have concluded that the time available was not sufficient to make it worthwhile to renew excavations. Second, the difficult financial condition of the state, together with the attacks which had already been made on his personal integrity, may have caused Weeks to doubt that the state would reimburse the contractors for their costs above the initial \$5,000 advance.

Without further conclusive evidence it would be neither just nor accurate to single out for disapproval any one party to the canal dispute of 1839. Perhaps slow, faulty means of communication played as large a part in the misunderstanding as did the immediate cast of characters. Uncooperative, irresponsible conduct and bungled management were shared by all sides, although perhaps not to the same degree. No positive proof has been found that any participant deliberately committed any dishonest or criminal act. Although it presents certain comic-opera aspects, the affair was in truth a great tragedy; it postponed for more than fifteen years the tremendous benefits later derived by the state and nation from this magnificent waterway.

Sault Ste Marie in the 1850's

Edited by Lewis Beeson

Just over one hundred years ago two Englishmen visited Sault Ste Marie and left accounts of what they saw, heard, and learned there. The visits to the Sault for both men were incidental to longer journeys upon which they were engaged. The first of these travelers was William H. G. Kingston, who reached the Sault in 1853 by way of New York City, Albany, Lake George, Quebec, Montreal, Lake Ontario, Lake Simcoe, and Georgian Bay;¹ and who returned to "civilization" by way of Lake Huron, Lake St. Clair, the Detroit River, Lake Erie, Niagara Falls, and Toronto. Kingston's account of his journey appeared in 1868 as *Western Wanderings*.² The second Englishman to visit the Sault during the period the first lock was under construction was Laurence Oliphant, who passed through the Sault in 1854 on his way to Fond du Lac, the St. Louis River, the Mississippi River, and St. Paul.³ Oliphant's account of his travels was published in 1855 as *Minnesota and the Far West*.⁴

Both observers commented upon the construction of the first lock and canal at the Sault, whose completion in 1855 is being observed this year. The rapids at the Sault have been a bottleneck to commerce from the time of the fur traders to the present. Man's conquest of that bottleneck has never been complete. There has been a continual race between the progressive enlargement of the locks in size and number and the expansion of the commerce which goes through them. Without the locks, the United States would hardly have become the industrial giant it is. The locks at the Sault are

¹For an account of William H. G. Kingston's journey, see Roy F. Fleming, "An English Author on the Great Lakes," in *Inland Seas*, 10:235-42 (Winter, 1954).

²William H. G. Kingston, *Western Wanderings or a Pleasure Tour in the Canadas*, 2 volumes (London and Montreal, 1856).

³For an account of Laurence Oliphant's journey from Superior to St. Paul, see Francis Paul Prucha, "Minnesota 100 Years Ago as Seen by Laurence Oliphant," in *Minnesota History*, 34:45-53 (Summer, 1954).

⁴Laurence Oliphant, *Minnesota and the Far West* (Edinburgh and London, 1855).

the most sensitive spot on the North American Continent.⁵ The editor believes it is appropriate, in the centennial year of the opening of the first lock, to reprint the observations of Sault Ste Marie made by two intelligent Englishmen in 1853 and 1854.

Kingston's Western Wanderings

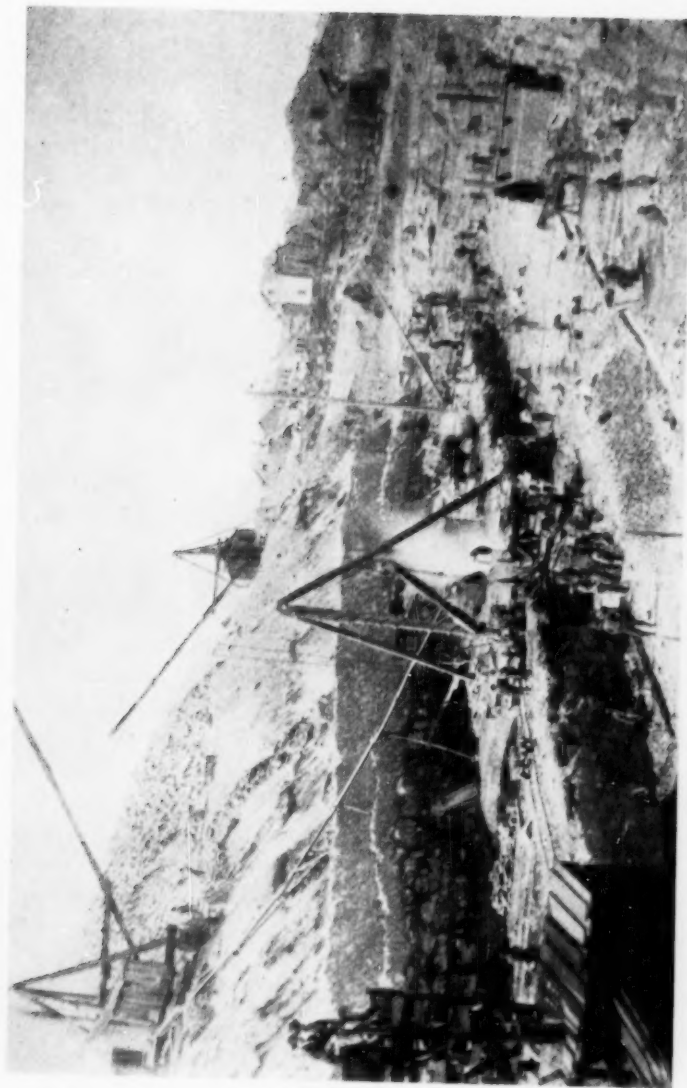
With an Introduction by Lewis Beeson

William H. G. Kingston was accompanied by his bride on his tour of Canada and the Great Lakes in 1853. He had spent much of his early life at Oporto, where his father was in business; and had written articles on Portugal. He was a prolific writer whose output amounted to over one hundred books before his career ended. Most of these were written for boys.

Kingston was interested in the emigration movement and colonization, and, for a time, edited *The Colonist* and *The Colonial Magazine* and *East Indian Review*. He also worked to better the conditions of seamen. His occupation, however, was the writing of books for boys and the editing of boys' periodicals. In addition to stories for boys, Kingston produced many popular records of adventure and discovery, numerous historical tales, and several travel accounts. His biography in the *Dictionary of National Biography* describes *Western Wanderings* as being written for the young.⁶ The reader of the excerpts from the book which are here reproduced, will find, however, that they are of interest to the adult as well as to the youthful reader.

⁵See F. Clever Bald, *The Sault Canal through the Years*, especially 29 and 32-33 (Ann Arbor, 1954). See also F. Clever Bald, *Michigan in Four Centuries*, 243-45, 279 (New York, 1954); Willis F. Dunbar, *Michigan through the Centuries*, 1:326 (New York, 1955); Joseph E. and Estelle L. Bayliss in collaboration with Milo M. Quaife, *River of Destiny: the St. Marys*, 101-10 (Detroit, 1955).

⁶J. A. Hamilton, "William Henry Giles Kingston," in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, 31:187-88 (New York and London, 1892); Fleming, "An English Author on the Great Lakes," in *Inland Seas*, 10:235-42.



J. E. Davidson, Alma

LOCK PIT, OR SECTION OF NEW CANAL, SAULT STE MARIE

Rare photograph presented to the Chippewa County Historical Society by the grandson of one of Harvey's foreman named Lynch. Harvey is said to be one of two men shown in the upper left hand corner.



WESTERN WANDERINGS

William H. G. Kingston

AT ABOUT ONE O'CLOCK [THE AFTERNOON OF SEPTEMBER 27, 1853], we reached the Bruce Mines, on the north shore of Lake Huron, at no great distance from the mouth of the River St. Marie, which connects that lake with Lake Superior. The region, from being rocky and bare of trees, is wild and desolate; but the mines have already collected a number of inhabitants, and upwards of twenty cottages of stone and plank, and a large smelting-house, greeted our eyes where we expected to find scarcely a human habitation. While some oxen and provisions were being landed for the winter store of the inhabitants, clothing myself in waterproofs, I ran along a wooden pier, and onwards for five minutes, to the nearest shafts. At one of them two men were managing a copper bucket, which, raised by two horses and a large wheel at a distance, came up each time full of the finest ore. A little way off the ore crops out so near the ground that no shaft is necessary. I saw a vein being cut into from the surface. Filling my pockets with specimens, I followed the course of a little railway by which the ore is conveyed to the water, and got on board the steamer just before she started.

The Bruce Mines were discovered about six years ago, and were so called in compliment to Lord Elgin, Governor-General of the Canadas.⁷ Three vessels have loaded at the pier where we stopped, and have gone thence direct to Swansea. Many others have transhipped their cargoes at Quebec. A large proportion of the produce is sold at Boston for making boilers. The deeper the shafts are sunk the richer the ore is said to be. Another mine was then about to be opened a mile or so off. An English company, also, I understood were commencing to work one several miles to the east of the Bruce Mines. Indeed, from what I could learn, the whole of that region on the northern shore of Lake Huron, extending almost round Lake Superior, is abounding in mineral wealth, awaiting energy, science, and capital, to win it for the benefit of man.

⁷Copper at Bruce Mines was discovered in 1846 and the first shipment of ore was made in 1847. See Bayliss and Quaife, *River of Destiny*, 279-80.

A run of five miles carried us to the mouth of the St. Marie River, or rather strait, for it is but a connecting link between the two great lakes. The entrance is full of islands composed of rocks, many of a considerable height, and covered with waving trees often bending over the deep eddying waters below. The rain ceased at times, and the sun shone forth, lighting up the scene with a brilliancy which made us note it as infinitely superior in picturesque beauty to the much-talked-of Lake of the Thousand Islands in the St. Lawrence. As we advanced fantastically shaped hills appeared before us; and to our right, with a long low line of trees in the foreground, was seen, among a range of broken heights, a beautiful lake; and a little farther on, from out of the forest beneath the hills on the British side, peeped forth a succession of Indian habitations, the varied foliage of the woods and the tints of the wigwams, the shanties, and huts, combining to form a richness of colouring we had seldom or never before seen. On our left, which was the American side, we passed, at a French location, a pretty cottage, with a deep verandah full of smiling children. They waved their hands, and seemed highly delighted at seeing a venerable, gentlemanly-looking French priest, who came on board at the Bruce Mines. Several Indians we passed, in their canoes or on the shore, saluted him respectfully and affectionately. Indeed, he seemed a man of manners so winning that he might easily gain the hearts of all he meets in that wild region, where courteousness, from its rarity, is so much more valued. He told me that there are about five hundred Indians scattered in and about the Sault St. Marie, but many of them have much French blood in their veins. In the evening, the weather becoming fine, we could walk on the forecastle, and enjoy the beautiful views which each turn of the river presented to our eyes: trees, and rocks, and hills, and islands, and water, and Indian huts and wigwams, in various combinations, forming the pictures. Altogether this was by far the prettiest scenery we have met with since we came to Canada; nor need it make the Americans jealous, for half of it belongs to them.

The Sault St. Marie, or the rapids (literally the Leaps) of St. Marie, are situated at the point where the waters of Lake Superior find that outlet which ultimately, through Lakes Huron, St. Clair, Erie, Ontario, and the St. Lawrence, carries them into the distant

Atlantic. On the south shore, in the territory of the United States, and directly abreast of the rapids, is the little town of the Sault, but which the people in the neighborhood abbreviate into the "Soo". There are several hotels, which are resorted to in summer by visitors both from the States and Canada, who go there to enjoy the cooling and invigorating breezes from Lake Superior.

Opposite to it is a considerable outpost of the Hudson's Bay Company, and there also stands in the British territory a substantial stone-house, built by an enterprising gentleman some fifty years ago, for the purpose of establishing a fur-trade with the Indians in opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company.⁸ He succeeded some time tolerably well, but ultimately that all-monopolising body swamped him. The farm lay uncultivated, the fences decayed, the outhouses tumbled down, and the sturdy house itself remained unoccupied till it was taken by a worthy, industrious, little Irishman, Pim by name, with a Canadian wife, who opened it as an hotel;⁹ and there we had been advised to take up our abode. Besides Pim's hotel there is the plank residence of the police-magistrate, custom-house officer, postmaster—one individual, a very courteous and intelligent gentleman, representing all the official dignity in the place.¹⁰ A few Canadian half-castes make up the sum of the population owing allegiance to Her Britannic Majesty.

It was growing dark as we approached the "Soo." The rapids, foaming and leaping as they rushed headlong down an inclined plain between the tree-covered and rocky islets, now first seen in the evening light, had a truly wild and gloomy appearance. Above them was the wide watery expanse of the somewhat mysterious Lake Superior, with distant blue hills lining its shore; to the north an almost untrod wilderness of forest, extending far away to unknown regions; the trees blackened and branchless for many miles, the result of a raging fire; but there was a relief to the excessive dreariness of the prospect in the neat white-washed houses and little palisaded fort cleft

⁸The stone house, no doubt, was that built by Charles O. Ermatinger in 1814. See Bayliss and Quaife, *River of Destiny*, 82-83, 218-19.

⁹David Pim and his wife came to the Canadian Sault in 1852. Bayliss and Quaife, *River of Destiny*, 256, 259.

¹⁰This magistrate was Joseph Wilson, who in 1843 had succeeded his father as customs officer. Wilson became Indian agent, crown land agent, postmaster, and general peace officer. Bayliss and Quaife, *River of Destiny*, 255.

Brady on the American side, and more than all in the welcome sight of friend Pim's comfortable hostelry.

On the American side a large steamer lay near the quay; and as we looked up the watery hill, we could see another above the rapids letting off her steam, having just come in from the mining regions of Lake Superior. Passing close to the American shore and the entrance of the new canal, then lately commenced, we shot close to the rapids across to the British side, and brought up at a wooden pier near the Hudson's Bay Company's post. Here Pim, the landlord of the Stone-house Hotel, took charge of us; and not having his boat in readiness, we embarked in one full of fish-barrels, and pulled by several wild-looking half-caste Indians. Thus, seated on the casks like a boat-load of young Bacchuses, we were ferried off to a landing-place near the hotel; and, in a few minutes, found ourselves comfortably seated before a blazing fire in a neat little parlour, with all sorts of nick-nacks, and books scattered about,—sofas, arm-chairs, and footstools.

Having seen that our bedroom was habitable, we were speedily seated at a well-covered supper-table, with a magnificent white-fish as one of the chief dishes. We tasted it with the consideration due to its novelty and reputed merits, and pronounced it the most delicious fresh-water fish we had ever eaten, not excepting the trout,—as least for a continuance. One may enjoy trout every day for a week, but after that one would desire a change, whereas the delicate-flavored, tender, yet firm white-fish, may be eaten every day while he is in season, without wearying the palate, if dressed with the science bestowed on him by the active-handed Mary, Pim's cook, and the bride of our friend Luis, the *Kaloolah's* steward. The white-fish had somewhat the appearance of a carp, but with a longer body and snout, and is as handsome as he is good. His beauty is not only skin-deep.

After supper we returned to the parlour, and voted it the most comfortable public room we have been in since we left England. We had two companions, our intelligent fellow-travellers; the engineer, and a stout, burly, rough-looking, but good-tempered and communicative young man, who was dubbed "Captain" by Pim's household. At first I thought he must command some lake-trader, but his ignorance of affairs nautical convinced me I was mistaken.

I could not fancy him even a militia-man, but at last I discovered that he was a mining captain, that is, the chief of a gang of miners,—the very man I wanted to meet; so I forthwith set to work to extract all the ore of information his experience would yield. I give the produce of my labours almost in the unadulterated form I received it, and as I roughly noted it at the moment in my journal.

Our friend the "Captain" had voyaged in a canoe with an exploring party round the whole coast of Lake Superior. At night they hauled up the canoe: some slept under it, and some under a tent, where there was ground whereon to pitch it. They would then make excursions into the interior, where the rocks gave signs of mineral wealth, returning to prosecute their voyage. He assured us that he had become so accustomed to the open air that he caught cold the first night he slept in a bed. (I suggested it might have been a damp one). The whole eastern coast of Lake Superior, which belongs to the United States, from its northern point at the River St. Marie opposite Gros Cap to Fond du Lac, is full of the richest veins of iron and copper ore and of native copper. The most northern American mine is at Carp River, whence the purest iron ore is produced. It is melted into bars, and then shipped off to the "Soo." To show its purity, a horse-shoe was hammered out of a piece of ore, rough as it was won from the mine. There are copper-mines at Copper Harbour, Eagle River, and there are several on the banks of the Ontonagon River. Some appear to be complete hills of copper, from the sides of which the copper may be wrenched off with pick-axes and crowbars. There are rapids in the river, and a bar at its mouth, so that the copper thus easily won has to be brought down at some risk in boats and embarked outside on board the steamers, thus giving a considerable advantage to the Bruce Mines, from which it is shipped into sailing vessels at little cost and no risk.

There are three paddle-wheel steamers, and four screw or propellers, as they are called, on Lake Superior. The paddle-wheel vessels are of considerable size; and having been built on Lake Erie, or somewhere in the south, have all been carried over the land for a distance of upwards of a mile to avoid the rapids, and launched again on the lake. They go as far south as La Pointe, and we proposed making a trip in one of them.

The whole United States coast is very bold and rocky; and there are few, or indeed no good harbours, and even the tolerable ones are far apart, so that the casualties among the shipping are very serious. Until within the last few years, except a remote fur-trader's post, no habitations of civilised men were to be found on the shores of that vast inland sea; now, since the mines I have spoken of have been opened, towns have sprung up at each of them with hotels and eating houses, and every accommodation for travellers. It appears that the British shore is equally rich in mineral wealth; but, either from want of enterprise and capital among the Canadians, or perhaps from there having an abundance of employment elsewhere for both, few satisfactory explorations have been made.

By the by, I heard a very just excuse for any deficiencies in the Canadians when comparing them with their neighbours. The people of the United States are at home, backed by the unrivalled resources of a vast territory and a mighty republic; whereas the Canadians are but the inhabitants of a colony, till lately but partly appreciated by the mother-country; many of them but newly arrived, with all their capital and energies of necessity employed in founding homes for themselves in their adopted country. Compare, also, the population of Canada with that of the United States, and, in proportion to their numbers, truly I think they should not be accused of having progressed at a slower rate than the Americans. That they might have done more, with considerable advantage to themselves than they have performed, is very possible, especially in this very region of which I am writing. They might have explored, discovered, and worked mines which doubtlessly exist; they might, could, and should have cut a canal through British ground to connect Lakes Superior and Huron; and they might have established extensive and lucrative fisheries along the coasts of both lakes; but none of these things have they done, while their neighbours are working numerous rich mines, are cutting a most important canal to connect the two lakes through their own territory, and are the chief purchasers of the fish caught in these waters.

No sooner does a young American find himself possessed of a little knowledge of geology, a little money, and a little time to spare, and health and strength, than he joins with others enjoying a similar remunerative capital, and sets off to chance it at the mineral regions.

If the party find a mine, it is very possible they may make their fortunes; if they fail, they return home, having made a pleasant tour, not much the worse in pocket, and probably the better in health. By such parties most of the American mines have been discovered.

The neglect of the Canadian Government in forming the canal is a sore subject with all the British acquainted with this region.¹¹ The ground was actually surveyed, and found more practicable than that on the American side. Why it was not done seems a mystery. The Lower Canadian party are accused of throwing obstacles in the way of the work through jealousy at the advantages it would bring to the Upper Province, but that I should scarcely think possible. It is far more probable that the neglect arose altogether from ignorance of or indifference to the important advantages the undertaking would have secured to the country at large. What nourishes the limbs, must surely benefit the mouth as well as the rest of the body.

The population on the British side, and a large proportion of that on the American, are half-castes, the off-spring of Indians and French Canadian voyageurs, and are a degenerate, dissolute, ill-conditioned set. They work when driven by necessity to find food; but as they can generally obtain good wages, they pass away half their time in idleness. There are exceptions, of course, to this rule.

We heard of a very interesting character residing at the "Soo," a pure Indian woman, the widow of a great chief among the Chippewas, whose daughters have been well educated, and have all married white men of good standing in society, mostly ministers of the Gospel; one, I believe, is the well-known and talented missionary and Indian superintendent, Mr. Schoolcraft. The chieftainness lives in a comfortable, well-furnished house; and though now of great age, retains all her faculties, is full of life and spirits, and takes great pleasure in society, and in hearing what is going on in the world. Her manners are dignified and courteous, and worthy of the high rank she holds among her people. (It strikes me that

¹¹"The project of a Canadian ship canal had been suggested at different times, and as early as 1851 it was attempted to form a company for its construction. This company did not become incorporated owing to the opposition of the late Sir Francis Hincks, then Prime Minister. The action of Sir Francis was made the subject of grave charges against him, which, however, were fully disproved on an investigation by a select committee of the Legislative Council in 1855." J. J. Kehoe, "The Sault Ste. Marie Ship Canal," in the *Canadian Magazine*, 1:589-90 (September, 1893).

she must be the daughter of a great chief, and that her husband was a white man: as a daughter, she would succeed to her father's dignity and power.)¹² The half-Indians, half-Frenchmen, who abound here are generally, we are told, not only degenerate in mind, but in physical strength; for though they exert themselves in fishing and hunting at times, disease, when it attacks them, speedily carries them off.

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We had prepared our minds for a stormy, rainy day, for which we thought the previous evening gave certain promise, instead of which the morning of the 28th of September broke bright and beautiful, the day continuing splendid to its close. Those who professed to understand the eccentricities of the weather, said that it would continue fine.

After breakfast, we embarked in our landlord's flat-bottomed boat, and, engaging a sulky Englishman to pull, we crossed over to the American side of the river. We had to keep up the stream some way, and then to dart across, to be as short a time as possible in the current. Because I made a remark to our crew for bumping us purposely against a pier, to show his independence, he walked off and left us to row back by ourselves.

The American fortress, called Fort Brady, is to the east of the town, on the water's edge. It is merely a collection of barracks, offices, quarters, and store-houses, surrounded by a high white-washed stockade, looking as if the tall branchless stems of some burnt forest had fallen into the ranks, and been whitened over as a reward for their good conduct. It is in the style of the old border fortifications, intended to guard against any sudden attack of Indians.

This is the most northern point of the United States; a station in no way desired by her military officers, who are so unfortunate as to have to remain here during the five months of winter. A company of infantry are now, I believe, the only troops stationed in the fort. The officers, the first soldiers we have seen, are dressed and look like

¹²Kingston refers to *O-shaw-gus-co-day-way-qua*, wife of John Johnston and daughter of Wab-o-jeeg. Their daughters were Jane, wife of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft; Eliza, who never married; Charlotte, wife of the Rev. William McMurray; and Anna Marie, wife of James Schoolcraft. See Jeremiah Porter, "Journal," in *Michigan History*, 38:322-70, and especially footnotes 3, 5, and 8 (December, 1954).

Frenchmen, in green full short surtouts and long thin peaked shades to their caps. We met some of them who were, as I believe is generally the case with the officers of the United States' army, pleasing, gentlemanly men. Their costume, if not so martinet-like, was far more serviceable, healthful, and comfortable, than the British defenders of their country are doomed to wear to the outrage of common sense and humanity. The rank and file had certainly not a soldier-like appearance; they are mostly Irish, Germans, or Dutch. Very few native-born Americans will enlist in the regular service. The discipline is strict and the pay less than they can get by any other work; and those warlike youths who want a little fighting, are pretty certain to find work to their taste under the banner of the Lone Star in Mexican wars, sympathising out-breaks, Cuban expeditions, or similar creditable undertakings.

A short time ago, some disturbances among the Indians on the Lake Superior shores being apprehended, a company of British troops were sent up to the English "Soo," to keep them in order.¹³ The men were stationed there for some time without any occupation; not liking their quarters, probably, and hearing that liberty, equality, and fraternity, were the order of the day across the border, or more probably that they could get good wages and plenty of liquor, several of them, like recreants, deserted their colours and imprudently took up their quarters in fancied security in the American "Soo". Now the United States and the British captains were on the most intimate terms, and the former feeling how he should wish to be treated under similar circumstances, gave his friend a hint where his men had stowed themselves away, intimating that he would not interfere with any plans he might form for their recapture. Accordingly, Captain —, getting some boats and arming a party of his men with stout sticks, pulled across the river as soon as it was dark, surrounded the house where the deserters were carousing, dragged them out, and before any sympathisers could come to their rescue (had any Americans been disposed to interfere), got them into the boats, and returned with them in triumph to their quarters. The

¹³This may have occurred during the period December, 1849-October, 1850, when a detachment of troops was stationed at the Canadian Sault as the result of a disturbance by Indians and half breeds. See Bayliss and Quaife, *River of Destiny*, 257.

matter, of course, came to the ears of the United States' Government, and was made the subject of much diplomatic correspondence; but, I believe, ultimately both officers got much credit, as I think they deserved, for the spirited manner in which they acted.

The town of the Sault St. Marie is composed almost entirely of frame-buildings neatly whitewashed. Van Anden's large hotel is built entirely of wood. Brick chimneys, even, are not required, as iron stoves with iron funnels alone are used. We landed close to the eastern entrance of the Huron Canal. Men were busily at work with pickaxe and shovel; and big cranes were lifting the mud and gravel they dug up, or lowering huge blocks of granite to form the locks; while stone-masons and carpenters, with chisels and saws, were fashioning the materials to be employed in the work. A number of plain, boarded frame-houses formed a long line built for the use of the labourers. A large proportion of these is Dutch; and it is hoped when the work is done they will remain in the place, as they make good settlers.

Pim, who was our cicerone, gave us this and many other bits of information, regretting that the many benefits accruing from the undertaking were not to be reaped on the British side. We walked about three-quarters of a mile along a capital plank-road, smooth as a floor to the portage (the landing-place) on Lake Superior.

The canal will be about a mile long, as it debouches on Lake Superior a little to the left of the old portage; but on that side the line was merely marked out, no cutting having been commenced. The Americans do not understand blasting rocks, and the difficulty of finding labourers who do have caused some delay. It is an awkward operation to perform in a bungling way.

The contractors had engaged to complete the canal by July 1854; but as not more than a third of the work was then done, and that had taken two years, great doubts were entertained as to their power of accomplishing their undertaking.

We examined the trainway by which the *Sam Ward*, a large paddle-wheel steamer, was conveyed a full mile over the portage from Lake Huron to Lake Superior. The ground is perfectly level, but still it was a triumph of engineering skill. The expense, however, very nearly equalled her value. The success led to two other large steamers being carried over, besides several smaller propellers.

In another year, probably, by means of the canal, the waters of Lake Superior will be crowded with shipping, and flourishing towns will soon afterwards be found springing up along its now silent shores.

We sat down on a stout wooden pier at the portage to sketch and to watch several gentlemen catching most attractive-looking trout. The water was so clear below us that the fishermen could see the fish they wished to hook, but this did not prevent the silly things taking the bait. One I saw caught, weighing about a third of a pound, had the spots much yellower than those on an English trout. There was not much beauty in the scenery here, but it was interesting as being the junction of two mighty lakes. The sky over-head was brightly blue, and the water under our feet beautifully clear. On the side of Lake Superior was a deep bay with wooded points; on the other, the white, foaming, tumbling, bubbling water rushed between two cypress-covered islands into the St. Marie.

On a sheltered nook among the trees on the British side a steamer lay moored. She was the *Independence*, wrecked last year, and only lately got up; and being in debt, was placed under English protection to avoid seizure. The two Governments would do well to come to some understanding to prevent such tricks.

The Sault St. Marie is upwards of four hundred miles distant from any town of size, the nearest being Detroit; while the next, Chicago, is six hundred miles. In winter the only communication is by means of wild Indian tracks through the forest. While the steamers are running, however, it is well supplied with all the necessities, as well as some of the luxuries of life; and we found several fruit-shops with melons, water-melons, peaches, and grapes, as well as bakers and confectioners.

We returned to a capital dinner at Pim's, of delicate white-fish, tender roast mutton, mashed potatoes, roast chickens, and other delicacies, very well cooked. Three Englishmen and a very gentlemanly American officer dined at table. They assured us that we should find the island of Mackinaw at the entrance of Lake Michigan well worthy of a visit. It contains a curious natural arch in a rock of great height and depth thrown over the sea, so that a ship may sail under it. A number of Indians reside there. A strong

fortress stands on it, garrisoned when the British held sway in the land during the wars with the Indians by a strong force.

The principal scenes in *Wacousta*, a novel of considerable interest, are laid there. . . .¹⁴

There is an abundance of excellent fishing in the rapids, as well above as below them. Trout, white-fish, herrings or a fish so called, maskinonge, and many others are caught in great numbers and salted down to be sent to the eastern markets.

The Indian population live chiefly on fish, which they catch, not only in summer, but in winter through holes in the ice. They catch the white-fish in the very rapids themselves during the evening and night, with what is called a scoop-net. Two men go in each canoe; one sits aft to paddle and steer, the other stands in the bow, furnished with a long pole and a net something like a landing-net, three and a half feet in circumference and six feet deep. He knows exactly the holes under the rocks where the fish are wont to lie; so, urging his light canoe up the rapid with his long pole, as soon as he reaches the desired spot he lays it down, and seizing his net with a rapid whirl over his head, he scoops out the hole, as it were, and seldom fails to bring a fish to the surface. They also spear the fish in the usual way on the rapids.

The cooper who makes barrels for the exportation of fish caught in the lakes, told me that some thousand casks, each weighing about 200 lbs., are annually sent from this district. Salt is brought up by traders, carried across the portage, and embarked in Mackinaw boats to be conveyed to the shore near where the fish are taken, and where they are cleaned, salted, and packed. By far the largest quantity of the fish caught are white-fish; then come trout, and then the luscious sciscowett. Of these taken, there are two sorts distinguished by the different tints of their pink colour. The cooper affirmed that they are a fresh-water salmon; but except in the colour of their flesh; I could discover no similarity. They are most delicious, though very rich when properly cooked; but unless placed before the fire with great care, they are of a nature so oleaginous, that they will

¹⁴John Richardson, *Wacousta or the Prophecy: A Tale of the Canadas* (New York, 1832).

melt away till nothing but their bones and skin remain. Many a hungry stranger, in expectation of a rich dinner, has been cruelly disappointed, as was the furious polka-dancing youth in the dog-days, who, going to get an ice for his somewhat fat, yet fair partner, found, to his sorrow, on his return that she had dwindled into her satin shoes. A pint of oil can be produced from one sciscowett. There are also fresh-water herrings, similar in most respects to those which inhabit the salt ocean. In the spring they are very rich, but at other times dry.

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The fish are mostly taken in gill-nets, like the ordinary deep-sea net, about thirty fathoms in length, with leads and floats. They were introduced on the lakes by a Brazilian fisherman, and soon superseded the sein before in use. About sixty small boats are employed on the lake in fishing. Some are owned by the fishermen themselves, and others by the fish-traders, who, however, supply the salt to both parties. A good many white men are employed, chiefly Americans, but the larger number are half-castes. As their chief market is found in the States, the boats must all be under the American flag, otherwise their present tariff would prevent the importation of the fish.* The men live in tents and wigwams on the beach while they cure the fish. The bateaux, which bring up the salt and barrels, return about every two months with their full cargoes.

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Nearly every day I spent at the Sault I found my way up to the chapel, whence I could look down on the rapids and neck of land where the British canal ought to have been; and I own that as I looked I did not feel so proud of my countrymen as I could have wished. For hundreds of miles from the spot there is not a road on British ground; yet the Americans have long had a good one across their portage, while the British portage is almost impassable. They have numerous mines at work, and towns springing up, on the shores of Lake Superior; the Canadians have none. They have seven steamers ploughing its waters; the Canadians have none.

*This was written before the present commercial treaty between the United States and Canada was in force.

Eight or ten steamers under the stars and stripes run between St. Marie and the ports of Detroit, Chicago, and many others; the *Kaloolah* is the only one under the British flag, and she visits the place but one in the week. The Americans have a thriving town, with a fort and a garrison, two large inns, and other houses of entertainment; our friend Pim is the sole unofficial upholder of the British name across the straits; while Mr. Wilson maintains the dignity of the British empire by representing, in his single person, the character of Chief Magistrate, Postmaster-General, the Board of Trade, and holding, for what I know to the contrary, several other posts of honour, if not of emolument. The Americans, also, have buildings in which different sects worship God; the British have only the little unfinished chapel which, like a good resolution not carried out, stands as a testimony against them.

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On Monday, the 3rd of October, at an early hour, we made our last breakfast on white-fish, strapped up, shook hands with Mr. and Mrs. Pim, . . . and . . . finally crossed the St. Marie Strait to the land of Liberty. The morning was lovely, and we anticipated a delightful paddle and full enjoyment of the beautiful scenery, when, again, our hopes were disappointed by being told that the *Pacific* would wait for the *Manhattan* expected in from Lake Superior. With many a grudge at the loss of that magnificent day in the little uninteresting town of the "Soo," we waited hour after hour in the hopes of starting. Again, we walked past Fort Brady, with its white-washed palisades and mushroom-looking little towers at the four corners,—a castle, I should think, unrivalled in modern architecture.

On the green sward before the gates an awkward squad of matchless awkwardness, in blue-jackets, were drilling under a corporal with the most powerful Irish brogue, evidently imported lately from the bogs of Kilkenny. The physiognomies of most of the men betokened them to have come from the same Green Isle, though, some were undoubtedly Germans or Dutch. We watched them, much amused at seeing one give his front file a punch in the small of the back to make him move faster, and another a kick in a less honourable part, apparently with the same object in view.

We dined at Van-Anden's big wooden hotel at one o'clock, in company with Mr. Wilson, the British magistrate at the "Soo," and

several residents of the place whom we had met before. We were attended by two quiet damsels and a moustachioed, imperially, hyacinthine-locked Apollo of a waiter, who, while we were still at the table, sat down at the head of it, to the roast beef and other comestibles we had left. As we were going out, I inquired whom I was to pay for our dinner, when Apollo, without rising from his seat, stretched out his hand and took my dollar with the most sublime and truly impressive indifference.

In the parlour, a small room with all the windows closed, and, exquisite as was the day, with a stove absolutely red-hot, we found two women in rocking-chairs, with their feet on its edge, complaining mournfully of sick headaches. I afterwards, on board the steamer, expatiated largely on the destructive effects to female beauty of hot stoves and mixtures of sweet things and rich food.

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Alack! how we wandered up and down that day!—sometimes on board, sometimes on the quays—sometimes towards Lake Superior, sometimes toward Fort Brady—till at last we saw the rear of the van which had been waiting for the *Manhattan's* passengers disappear round the corner, and with hope of emancipation reviving within us, once more repairing on board, we sat down in the saloon among other weary mortals and awaited our fate. In the course of half-an-hour big fellows with little carpetbags began to come on board, the first bell rang, and we, to express our satisfaction, gave a subdued "Hip, hip, hurrah!" and felt more amiable. Then some stir occurred on the wharf, where dull apathy had reigned all day—a clatter of plates in the saloon betokened preparations for tea. The second bell rang. Female friends came to see others off, got afraid of being carried away, and men had to go and make inquiries to pacify them. The third bell rang. Away they hurried. There was a shouting and a heaving of ropes, a fizzing and a splash, and the *Pacific* was positively moving. Now, as if a weight were removed, up sprang our elastic spirits—the bright evening seemed brighter, and the golden and crimson hues of sunset attracted our eyes, and excited an interest of which a few minutes before we had felt incapable. Thus, probably for ever, we bade adieu to the Sault St. Marie.

Oliphant's Minnesota and The Far West

With an Introduction by Roy F. Fleming

LATE IN THE SUMMER OF 1854 LAURENCE OLIPHANT, superintendent of Indian affairs for Canada, set out on a journey through Upper Canada. After the completion of his official tour, he crossed Lake Huron to Sault Ste Marie and continued on west through Lake Superior to the Mississippi River, which he reached by portaging from the St. Louis River. The account of his travels appeared in 1855 in his book, *Minnesota and the Far West*, which was illustrated by his own pen drawings.

Although Oliphant was only twenty-four years of age he already was a widely traveled man and the author of two books; one of a hunting expedition to Nepal,¹⁵ and the other describing a trip he made down the Volga and into the Crimea.¹⁶ Oliphant was born at Capetown in 1829, where his father was attorney general. He had been schooled in England, had traveled on the Continent, and had practised law in Ceylon. He had been brought to North America in 1854 by Lord Elgin as his secretary and had participated in the negotiations in Washington, D. C., which had resulted in the Reciprocity Treaty between Canada and the United States.

The superintendent's chief duty at the time was to negotiate a treaty with the Indians of the Saugeen Peninsula for the purchase of this great tract of land for settlement by the whites. This he accomplished in grand council at Saugeen (now Southampton) October, 1854.

Noting that the steamships plied between Georgian Bay ports and Sault Ste Marie, and from there across Lake Superior, the young official, ever seeking new scenes and new experiences, decided to travel to the West. Oliphant had with him one male companion, probably his secretary, and together they took passage at Owen Sound for the Sault.

¹⁵Laurence Oliphant, *A Journey to Katmandu with the Camp of Jung Bahadoor* (New York, 1852).

¹⁶Laurence Oliphant, *The Russian Shores of the Black Sea in the Autumn of 1852, and a Tour Through the Country of the Don Cossacks* (Edinburgh and London, 1854).

After completing his western tour, Oliphant, having learned that the Crimean War had begun, hurried to Quebec. There he resigned his office and crossed the ocean in January, 1855, to England. He then went to the Crimea as correspondent for certain British newspapers.

Laurence Oliphant was a prolific writer throughout his life, a contributor to the leading newspapers and magazines of the day, and author of several popular books. He was also a brilliant conversationalist and a master of vigorous English.¹⁷ It is fortunate that we had such a capable witness visit Sault Ste Marie and the upper Great Lakes just over a hundred years ago and leave for us today such an entertaining record of observations of this important waterway to the Great West.

MINNESOTA AND THE FAR WEST

Laurence Oliphant

IF PEOPLE IN ENGLAND HAD ANY IDEA OF THE LOVELY SCENERY and delightful climate of the American lakes, they would not confine their yachting to European waters. There are two thousand miles of lake navigation, affording fishing, and scenery unsurpassed by any in the world; while the numerous settlements on the shores would serve as pleasant resting-places, from which excursions might be made into the interior in bark-canoes, or shooting expeditions organised. Now that the canal at the Sault Ste Marie is finished, which connects Lake Superior with Lakes Michigan and Huron, there is nothing to prevent a yacht, not drawing more than eight and a half feet of water, sailing from Liverpool to Fond du Lac, the last two thousand miles from the mouth of the St. Lawrence being entirely inland navigation. Lake Huron is so abundantly studded with islands that one might cruise in it for months and always find fresh points of interest, and sail through new channels, each more beautiful than the last; while the immense advantage of always being

¹⁷Leslie Stephen, "Laurence Oliphant," in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, 42:133-37 (London, 1895).

able to land in rough weather, is one which yachtsmen are for the most part not slow to avail themselves of.

The Bruce copper-mines are situated upon the northern shore of Lake Huron, about fifty miles from the Sault Ste. Marie. They were begun about six years ago, and the population, which consists entirely of miners, now amounts to about three hundred. We descended one of the shafts, which was about sixteen fathoms deep. The vein which was then being worked was rich, and the ore of good quality. The quartz is hauled up by horse-power; it is then broken, and submitted to the jiggers to be crushed. When it is reduced to sand and washed, it is packed in casks and sent to England to be smelted. Since this method was adopted, the mines have been worked more profitably than when the smelting took place on the spot. The shares are now at par, and are likely to rise.

Opposite to the Bruce mines is the large island of St. Joseph.¹⁸ It contains about 90,000 acres, and it is timbered with maple and beech. It has been recently surveyed, and is the only island now open for settlers. The land is good, and is available at a very low rate per acre. On the north-east there is a good harbour, where the town of Hilton is to be situated. The islands after this begin to change their character, and from being low and woody, become rocky and barren.

We steamed a little way up Garden River to a thriving Indian settlement, prettily situated at a little distance from a range of well-wooded hills, in which the stream takes its rise. It is only navigable for a few miles, and beyond this is celebrated for its trout-fishing, which I was strongly tempted to experimentalise upon, more particularly when I perceived, from the mountainous character of the country, that its merits would be enhanced by fine scenery. However, we were too anxious to go still farther west to linger on our journey, and after holding a council and paying a visit to a celebrated Indian Chief, who occupied a neat house in the village, we pursued our interesting voyage, in the course of which, for four hundred miles, we had been threading our way between islands, in a manner more agreeable, perhaps, to the passengers than to the captain, who

¹⁸For an extended account of the island, see Joseph E. and Estelle L. Bayliss, *Historic St. Joseph Island*, (Cedar Rapids, 1938); for a shorter account, see Bayliss and Quaife, *River of Destiny*, 69-72, 120-28, 170-77.

in spite of a long experience, was obliged to use the utmost caution amid such intricate navigation. Indeed, the strongest objection to the position of the ports of Collingwood and Sydenham arises from the difficulty of approaching them from Lake Superior, a difficulty which is considerably increased by the absence of light-houses at the entrances of the various channels. The Americans are far before us in this respect. As we approached the Sault, we at once perceived, from the numerous light-houses on the more prominent points, that we were in Yankee waters. The sun was shining brightly upon the broad bosom of the Ste. Marie, as, with spy-glass in hand I looked anxiously upon the emporium of commerce in these regions. The American town presents quite an imposing aspect. Substantial-looking houses line the water's edge; and as the site upon which the city is built is almost perfectly level, it has the appearance of indefinite extent. There were flags flying to point out hotels, and upon the only rising ground in the neighborhood the stars and stripes were floating also to denote Yankee supremacy, for it was crowned by a neat white-washed stockaded fort.

Upon our side there was little to boast of. One of the Hudson's Bay Company forts stand *vis-à-vis* to the opposition establishments, and a large hotel and some straggling houses near it are the habitations of Her Majesty's subjects in these remote regions. They looked so cheerless that we determined to sacrifice our patriotism to our comfort; and though the steamer landed us on British ground, in half an hour afterwards we had crossed the river, and were craving admission at the door of the Chippeway House a rambling wooden hotel, in which we hoped to find accommodation until an opportunity offered of enabling us to pursue our voyage to the western extremity of Lake Superior.

One of the most certain indications that a country is in an early stage of development, is to be found in the importance which attaches in the eyes of the inhabitants to those localities in which a few of them have congregated together, and which, containing a population that would be deemed unworthy of notice elsewhere, here form the nuclei of future towns, and furnish, to a greater or less extent, supplies for present wants. The traveller whose wanderings have hitherto been confined to more civilised regions, will not improbably experience a feeling of disappointment, when, after

an arduous journey, he reaches at last the goal upon which all his hopes have been set for many weeks past—which has formed the staple topic of conversation—and which he has invested with charms whose absence have only served to render his imagination more particularly susceptible to their merits; for it is certain that, if hope deferred makes the heart sick, it also has a strong tendency to enhance the value of the thing hoped for. It requires a heart not easily turned, to travel in the remoter provinces of America; and an imagination not prone to indulge too freely in the pleasures of anticipation.

For some weeks past my destination had been the Sault Ste. Marie. When I left Quebec I determined to visit this "dim Ultima Thule." For the last few days we had been passengers on board a steamer full of people, all bound for the Sault Ste. Marie; and, as is always the case under such circumstances, everybody was discussing the probably hour of arrival at the desired haven. Those who had never been there were speculating upon its appearance, and those who had were describing it to them. In some form or other the Sault Ste. Marie was always on the tapis; and when I first saw it looking bright and gay as we steamed by it, I thought that for once I was not to be doomed to disappointment. Landing, however, at a little rickety wooden pier, passing between two high wooden houses, the whole extent of the city suddenly burst upon my view, composed, as it is, of a single street.

If it was painful that the delusion in which I had indulged should be thus rudely dispelled, it was at least consolatory to know that there was no chance of losing one's way. An hotel stared us in the face, and, transporting thither our effects, we were soon comfortably installed in a little double-bedded room, and entered upon a course of ablutions involving a consumption of water to an extent that rather astonished the household; then, making a judicious selection from our scanty wardrobe of those articles which were most likely to create an impression, we sallied forth and joined a group of very tall Americans, who were chewing, smoking, and tilting themselves in their chairs upon the verandah, and to whom we immediately became objects of great interest. The costumes and manners of these gentlemen were not at all in accordance with the rough and uncouth aspect of the town in which they seemed to have taken up

their abode. They might have been lounging at the Bar of the St. Nicholas in Broadway, instead of the Chippeway House at the Sault Ste. Marie. Some of them wore evening coats and patent-leather boots; others were dressed in velveteen shooting-coats, with their trousers tucked inside neat Wellington boots, after the manner of American sportsmen. There was not a particle of backwoodishness about them. When we approached, one gentleman, in a black velvet shooting coat, with a gun, was descanting to another gentleman in a black velvet shooting-coat, with a fishing-rod [sic], upon his success in wood-pigeon shooting; while the latter produced a basket containing three very small trout as the result of his day's sport. Their companions were making approving comments, and we were delighted to join such a sociable looking party, where it was so little to be expected. Our appearance diverted the current of conversation.

"Strangers, gentlemen, I guess—and Britishers at that," said the individual with the gun, politely spitting away from us over his friend's shoulder. "Shall be delighted to render you any service in my power during your stay in this city."

We thanked him for his kindness, and asked him what there was to be done here?

"Well, there's considerable pigeons, if you've a mind to go gunning; and there *air* days when you may catch trout in the river, out of a bark canoe: it's quite a pleasurable lo-cality is the Soo (Sault)—that's a fact."

Indeed we found it full of Americans from all parts of the Northern States, who make summer excursions to Lake Superior, and who patronise the Sault largely as a sort of watering-place, with the advantage of sport in the shape of pigeons and trout in the neighborhood. As, however, our new friend was only a visitor himself, he offered to introduce us to a resident as being more likely to be of service to us; and having told him our names in reply to his interrogatory, he turned sharply round to a friend, who, with the assistance of his foot placed against the wall, was dexterously posing himself upon one leg of his chair, and gracefully pointing towards him said, "Allow me to make you acquainted with Mr. —, accounted the *po-litest* man at the Soo."

The gentleman thus designated, stretched out his hand without ever losing his balance, and was in the act, I have no doubt, of giving us a cordial welcome, when the words which were upon his lips were suddenly checked by the contents of his mouth appearing at the same place; a catastrophe which upset his equilibrium, and seriously imperilled [*sic*] his neck. Meanwhile, if the group on the verandah of the Chippeway House was eminently characteristic, the view from the same spot was no less so. Most of the houses were wooden, with their gables to the street. There was a large dry-goods store nearly opposite, then a newspaper-office, then the metropolitan saloon, next to that Hopkins' saloon, then a bowling saloon, and the Paris store; in fact, to judge from the great number of houses of entertainment in proportion to those of any other character, the town seemed to be nothing more or less than a large tavern with a shop at the back.

The shops were all stores, and you could get almost anything, from a bag of potatoes to a yard of lace, at any one of them. As we made a good many purchases here in anticipation of our western journey, we had plenty of experience of them before we left. The bowling saloons we used also to frequent, but not till after dinner, and the sudden rush which our companions are making into the hotel reminds us that, if we wish to get the advantage of that meal, we have not a moment to lose. As it is, all the centre tables are taken—the ladies, and the gentlemen with ladies, having the privilege of private entry before the bell rings. By a little jobbing and backstairs influence with mine host, it is quite possible for a single man to be allowed this privilege. However, we were novices as yet in the art of dining in the backwoods, and with some difficulty secured seats at a table which was perfectly destitute of food; nor did it seem likely that we should get any, for everybody else was too busily engaged even to talk, while any attempt at conversation would have been drowned in the clatter of knives and forks. The whole population of the Sault only amounts to about 1200, and at least 150 of them were dining that day at the Chippeway House; and to judge from the scarcity of the food and its want of variety, the resources of the town were being drained to an extent which was likely soon to exhaust them altogether. It was with the greatest difficulty that we made a meal; but we were reconciled to its scantiness when we

remembered that it had been swallowed with a rapidity which might have rendered any increase in quantity productive of serious results.

Mr. Chambers has recently recorded it as his experience, that the Americans are somewhat maligned in the reputation they have acquired for the despatch of their meals; but he had only to visit the Western Provinces to become undeceived on this point. In the more highly civilised cities of the East, the public dinner is of just the proper duration, and a vast improvement upon the interminable *table d'hôte* of the continent of Europe; while the banquets at private houses often even exceed in length these latter repasts. But the ceremony of dining upon the outskirts of civilisation is a very different affair; and upon one occasion at St. Paul, the capital of the Minnesota territory, I found it so difficult to keep pace with my neighbours that I determined to time them; and recorded, as the result of my observations, that from the moment when the first rush into the dining-room took place, to the moment the first man left it, was exactly seven minutes and a half. In ten minutes I remained the solitary spectator of a melancholy array of empty dishes, the contents of which had been sufficient, in that short period, to satisfy nearly a hundred voracious denizens of the Far West.

We were obliged to remain a few days at the Sault until the arrival of the Steamer *Sam Ward* from a tour of the lake, as we intended to proceed in her to Fond du Lac, the extreme western point of Lake Superior. Although so small a place, there was too much novelty about the Sault to admit of anything like ennui. Moreover we were indebted to Captain Clarke, commanding the detachment of the U. S. army stationed at Fort Brady, for attentions which helped us to pass our time pleasantly. The fort overlooks the river. It is composed of a neat white stockade, in the form of a square, round three sides of which are built the barracks and officers' quarters. The town is situated immediately beneath the fort: indeed, the houses are built on land belonging to the United States Government, which allows the population, by settling upon it, to acquire a prescriptive right to the ground.

One day we took a bark canoe for the purpose of shooting the rapids, and also in the hope of producing, for the benefit of our American friends, a basket containing a few more trout than those which had been exhibited as a sample of a good day's fishing. Cross-

ing to the English side, we reached a voyageur's cottage at the foot of the rapids, just in time to escape a heavy thundershower, and spent a pleasant half-hour over our pipes with him, his Indian wife, and half-breed family, who were engaged in making miniature bark canoes, and embroidering moose-skin for the American market. He was proud of being an English subject, but at the same time congratulated himself upon his proximity to the Yankees, as affording better sources of profit to him in every way than Canadians.

We were more than an hour forcing our canoe up the rapids, which are nearly a mile in length; and it was only by dint of great exertion, and taking advantage of every backwater, that we managed to creep along the banks of the little islands with which the river is dotted. It was my first experience of the sort, and unless I had actually witnessed it, I certainly should not have considered feasible the ascent, in a boat, of a torrent which was so rapid that it would have been impossible for a man to stem it on foot. Indeed, nothing but the most dexterous punting on the part of our experienced boatmen would have enabled us to succeed.

When we reached the head of the rapid we tried a few casts, and caught two or three diminutive trout, with which the boatmen were so delighted, and complimented us so highly on our skill, that, judging by its unsatisfactory results, we determined that, as it was more exciting to shoot the rapids of the Sault Ste. Marie than to fish them, we would no longer delay that novel pastime. Accordingly seating ourselves steadily at the bottom of our frail bark, we allowed it to be sucked into the foaming waters, a voyageur at each end of the canoe, with quick eye and strong arm, prepared to steer us safely upon a voyage which certainly, to the uninitiated, did not seem altogether devoid of peril. The surface of the river, over an extent of at least a mile square, presents at this point one unbroken sheet of foam. The waves are so high that they dash into the canoe, which would inevitably be upset, if, by bad steering, it were allowed (in nautical language) to get into the trough of the sea. We were just beginning to acquire a fearful velocity, when, as if to harmonise with the tumult of waters amid which we were being so wildly tossed vivid flashes of lightning burst forth from the black clouds, followed by loud peals of thunder, and rendered the descent of these rapids, which is always exciting, grand, and almost appalling. In about four

minutes we were in smooth water again, having in that period accomplished a distance which it had taken us an hour to traverse on our upward course.

It requires great coolness and experience to steer a canoe down these rapids; and a short time before our arrival, two Americans had ventured to descend them without boatmen, and were consequently upset. As the story was reported to us, one of them owed his salvation to a singular coincidence. As the accident took place immediately opposite the town, many of the inhabitants were attracted to the bank of the river to watch the struggles of the unfortunate men, thinking any attempt at a rescue would be hopeless. Suddenly, however, a person appeared rushing toward the group, frantic with excitement. "Save the man with the red hair!" he vehemently shouted; and the exertions which were made in consequence of his earnest appeals proved successful, and the red-haired individual, in an exhausted condition, was safely landed. "He owes me eighteen dollars," said his rescuer, drawing a long breath and looking approvingly on his assistants. The red-haired man's friend had not a creditor at the Sault, and, in default of a competing claim, was allowed to pay his debt to nature. "And I'll tell you what it is, stranger," said the narrator of the foregoing incident, complacently drawing a moral therefrom,— "a man'll never know how necessary he is to society if he don't make his life valuable to his friends as well as to his-self."

We were actively employed during our stay at the Sault in laying in provisions, etc. for our western journey, as it was the last civilised place we were likely to see for some time. The store at which we purchased our outfit belonged to a most obliging person, and contained a very miscellaneous assortment of articles. The most interesting were those which were in requisition during the winter. On account of its remote position, large supplies of every kind are always laid in here during the summer months, although the more adventurous inhabitants do keep up a communication with Detroit, across Lake Huron, upon the ice, by means of dog-sleighs. We examined with some curiosity those used by our friend. He also showed us some of his dogs whose drooping hind-quarters and languid gait betokened the hard work they had undergone. Their master himself had performed marvellous feats upon snow-shoes

and thought nothing of walking eight hundred miles in three weeks, being at the rate of forty miles a-day. Of course he carried nothing: his food and clothing were dragged in the dog-sleigh by his side.

We crossed over to the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort, and there, too, were interested in looking over the stores which are kept for trading with the Indians. Beads, blankets, rifles, moccasins, and all the appurtenances of wild Indian life, were here piled in shelves, and transported us in imagination to the council-fires of distant tribes. The Red River settlement is principally supplied from these stores. At present, the difficulty of transport is the great drawback to the prosperity of this colony, the inhabitants of which also complain of being prohibited from trading with the Indians upon their own account. The population amounts to about nine thousand, and is not likely to increase rapidly until greater facilities are provided for conveying their agricultural produce to the Canadian or American markets. We provided ourselves, at the recommendation of the hospitable agent of the Company, with some stout ox-hide moccasins, and a piece of tarpaulin to serve as a tent or screen, and were thankful for the hints he gave us on a canoe life in the Western rivers.

The most characteristic feature of the Sault Ste. Marie, as suggestive of the vast resources of the shores of Lake Superior, to which its future prosperity must be mainly due, is the tram-road which runs down the centre of the main street, and along which trucks, loaded with huge blocks of copper, are perpetually rumbling. The weight of each was generally marked upon it, and I observed that some of the masses exceeded 6000 lb. I was somewhat startled, upon the morning of our departure, to find, on coming to the door of the hotel, that our luggage had taken the place of the usual more valuable freight, and that, seated in picturesque attitudes upon piles of boxes and carpetbags, about two hundred persons were waiting to be trundled away to the steamer, more than a mile distant. They were so thickly hived upon the long line of trucks, that I could scarcely find a spare corner in which to take up a position. At last, however, a thin man, with high cheek-bones and a red beard, invited me to share the top of a barrel with him, which I accordingly did; and having lit a cigar, I was in the act of acknowledging his civility by offering my new friend one, when some little black

suspicious-looking grains, jolting up through a crack in the lid, revealed to me the horrifying fact that we were seated upon a barrel of gunpowder. Springing hastily off, I seized my companion's hand just in time to prevent his lighting a fresh fusee, and pointed to his danger. He only remarked, as he swung himself leisurely from his perch, "that he had come darned near to busting up the crowd," and recommended me to "slope along with him;" a suggestion I was by no means backward in complying with.

There was a most miscellaneous cluster of persons sticking upon their no less miscellaneous effects. Fragile, delicate-looking ladies, with pink and white complexions, black ringlets, bright dresses, and thin satin shoes, reclined gracefully upon carpet-bags, and presided over pyramids of band-boxes. Square-built German fraus sat astride huge rolls of bedding, displaying stout legs, blue worsted stockings and hob-nailed shoes. Sallow Yankees, with straw-hats, swallow-tailed coats, and pumps, carried their little all in their pockets; and having nothing to lose and everything to gain in the western world to which they were bound, whittled, smoked, or chewed cheerfully. Hardfeatured, bronzed miners, having spent their earnings in the bowling saloons at the Sault, were returning to the bowels of the earth gloomily. There were tourists in various costumes, doing the agreeable to the ladies; and hardy pioneers of the woods, in flannel shirts, and trousers supported by leathern belts, and well supplied with bowies, were telling tough yarns, and astonishing the west minds of the emigrants, who represented half the countries of Europe. We left the town, waving salutations to our numerous friends who came to the verandahs to see the living freight pass by—for a departure to the other end of the lake was rather an event—and, receiving their hearty farewells in return, were soon following the bank of the canal, which was then in process of construction, and is ere this completed. As it connects the two largest lakes in the world, the dimensions of this work are fully equal to its importance, and it therefore deserves some notice; while, at the same time, it may not be uninteresting to glance at the trade which now passes along it.

Two years had scarcely elapsed since Congress passed the act for the construction of a ship canal round the falls of the Ste. Marie. The entire length of the river, which connects Lake Superior with

Lakes Huron and Michigan, is about twenty-five miles; but the portion which is not navigable extends over a distance of barely a mile. The rapid development of the mineral resources on the south shore of Lake Superior rendered this a work of paramount importance, and it has accordingly been undertaken and accomplished with a skill and energy worthy the most enterprising nation in the world. As all the lands in the United States belong originally to the Federal Government, whenever any great work is to be constructed of a similar character, an Act of Congress is necessary to allow the particular State interested the right of locating the canal or railway through the public lands; while, at the same time, a certain quantity of land is usually placed at the disposal of the State, as a means of raising the necessary funds. Agreeably to this arrangement, the State of Michigan was granted 750,000 acres of public land, to be selected in subdivisions by agents appointed by the governor.

The canal is nearly a mile in length. It is 100 feet wide, 12 feet deep, and contains two locks, each 300 feet long. It will thus be capable of receiving the largest lake craft afloat. The soil is partly gravelly, and partly solid clay; but the sides of the canal are faced with stone, brought at great expense from the neighborhood of Detroit. I did not ascertain the precise amount expended at the period of my visit, but it was calculated that the entire cost would exceed a million of dollars.

It is difficult to estimate the extent of the traffic which must pass through this canal, partly because no regular reports of the trade of Lake Superior have ever yet been made. But even if they had, the impetus which it would receive upon the completion of this canal would render it scarcely appreciable. It is quite clear, from the nature of the products of this country, that they must seek a distant market; and that for some time, at any rate, the miners must obtain the great bulk of their supplies from the Eastern States. But the time must come when the agricultural resources of Minnesota, and a great part of Wisconsin, will be developed, and find their outlet in this direction. In 1851 the value of the imports which crossed the Sault was estimated at a million of dollars. They consisted principally of grain, dry goods, provisions, groceries, etc. The exports were valued at about 700,000 dollars, and consisted almost entirely of copper and iron. The population upon the southern

shore of Lake Superior has, however, nearly trebled since then; and so, no doubt, has the traffic.

The great majority of the passengers on board the *Sam Ward* were going to take up their permanent abodes in these distant regions. This respectable craft had been built upon the lake, all the materials for her construction having been carried round the Sault rapids. She was large and roomy, but considered by a gentleman accustomed to the magnificent boats on the more civilised lakes, to be "tarnation old, and shaky some." However, we had very comfortable accommodation, and prosperous weather; and I cherish the most lively and agreeable recollections of my voyage in the *Sam*.

Towards evening the low wooded shores of the river Ste. Marie sank beneath the horizon, and we found ourselves at last upon the broad bosom of Lake Superior. It was a calm moonlight night. The only airs that fanned my cheek, the only ripples that danced in the moonbeam, were caused by our rapid motion, as we ploughed our way through the clear still water. Land was nowhere visible; and as I leant over the sharp bows, and watched the silver spray as it sprang from beneath them, it was difficult to realise the fact that this monster boat, with her living freight of near three hundred souls, was already fifteen hundred miles from the ocean, and was bound upon a voyage of four hundred more.

The Political uses of Anti-Catholicism: Michigan and Wisconsin, 1890-1894

Donald L. Kinzer

A POLITICAL OVERTURN OCCURRED in the elections of 1890 which placed Democrats in control of the lower house of Congress and transferred to the Democrats control of several state governments in states which were normally considered Republican strongholds. The McKinley Tariff was the most obvious explanation for the disturbance on the national scene, but behind the event was a record of numerous elections in any one of which a slight variation in the voting strength of either major party could easily have altered the outcome. From the perspective of years and with knowledge of what followed 1890, the historian may see the overturn as evidence of a growing political unrest which was to culminate in the election of 1896. To the participant, with a myopic view in which short-term issues and the gathering of the votes were the immediate concern, the affair was not so cosmic. Two of the states which had been consistently Republican in their allegiance and which in 1890 shifted into the Democratic column were Michigan and Wisconsin. In both states local circumstances provided an opportunity for anti-Catholicism to achieve a brief importance in both parties.

Michigan's metropolis, Detroit, had become known as a Democratic city in a Republican state. It was the second most important port of entry for immigrants arriving in the United States and suffered, consequently, from the same problems of charity and unassimilated migrants which also affected New York city. There was a large Irish laboring class to which was generally attributed the political success of the Democrats. A reform campaign in the municipal elections of 1889 had been based on these circumstances¹ and

¹For background, see Arthur Chester Millsbaugh, *Party Organization and Machinery in Michigan Since 1890*, 12-17 (Baltimore, 1917); for Detroit's problems with immigrants, see "To Regulate Immigration. January 19, 1889. . . . Mr. Ford . . . Report: The Select Committee to Inquire into the Importation of Contract Laborers, Convicts, Paupers, etc., . . ." in *House Reports*, volume 1, number 3792 (50 Congress, 2 session) (Washington, D. C., 1889).

had resulted in the defeat of the Democratic regime and in the election of Hazen S. Pingree as the Republican mayor.

In the election of 1890 Michigan chose a Democratic governor and legislature, while eight of the eleven congressmen elected were Democrats.² One of the few Republicans to survive the defeat was the candidate for state treasurer, a Catholic. During this campaign, anti-Catholicism was stimulated by the *Detroit Patriotic American* which was serving as the publicity agent in the attempt to rid Michigan of "Romanism."³ Its columns reported, without indicating a preference among them, the activities of the Orange lodges, the Patriotic Order of the Sons of America, and the Junior Order of American Mechanics.⁴ All three organizations had well-established reputations as opponents of the so-called "Catholic influence," although none of them was designed for political action.

In Wisconsin the Bennett compulsory school attendance law became the issue which in the minds of the participants determined the outcome of the election of 1890. The law was an amendment to a previous piece of legislation and in its provisions was not markedly different from compulsory education laws currently being passed in many of the states.⁵ Hostile reaction to the law, particularly to its clauses requiring the use of English in the schools, first appeared during the spring of 1890 among German Lutherans. George W. Peck, author of *Peck's Bad Boy*, was elected Democratic mayor of Milwaukee after a campaign labeling the law as an attack on the parochial school systems of Lutherans and Catholics.

In the fall election of 1890, the Republican incumbent, William D. Hoard, was beaten by Peck for governor. The campaign was conducted on the merits of the Bennett Law, with the Democrats offering repeal at the next legislative session if they were elected. Not only did the Democrats capture the state legislature, but they

²One congressman died before Congress met and was replaced by a Republican chosen in a special election.

³*Detroit Patriotic American*, October 25, 1890.

⁴See any issue of the *Detroit Patriotic American* for this period; the October 25, 1890 issue, for example, shows that the editor was an important officer in the national and international Orange Lodges.

⁵William B. Shaw, "Compulsory Education in the United States," in the *Educational Review*, 4:129-41 (September, 1892); and United States Bureau of Education, *Bulletin*, number 2, *Compulsory School Attendance*, 10 (Washington, D. C., 1914), where a chart shows the dates of enactment of the various compulsory school laws.

elected the governor, and with one exception they elected every congressman from the state. The new legislature chose William F. Vilas as Democratic senator and then proceeded to repeal the objectionable features of the Benefit Law while retaining the compulsory attendance clauses. Coincidentally, in the Edgerton Bible Case taken to the courts by a Catholic family, the Wisconsin Supreme Court rendered a decision forbidding the reading of the Bible in the public schools.⁶

Some reservations in interpreting the results in Wisconsin must be made. Not all Catholics or Lutherans were opposed to compulsory education laws. Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul, among Catholic leaders, and the Turner organizations of Milwaukee, representing a lay German viewpoint, favored them. On the other hand, Archbishop Frederic X. Katzer, leader of the German Catholics of Wisconsin, was particularly desirous that the German language should be retained in his parishes and thus opposed the Bennett Law because of its provision for instruction in English, while some Lutherans desired to retain for their children the "language of Luther."⁷ Lutherans had been the first to oppose the law and had been joined in their opposition by Catholics. Democrats saw the opportunity to capitalize on this opposition, developed it into a partisan issue, and secured an advantage from it. Republicans were apparently unaware until too late that the seemingly innocuous law would generate opposition. Moreover, Wisconsin's move into the Democratic column was not unusual in 1890, for other normally Republican states such as Iowa, Minnesota, Illinois, as well as Michigan, also took the same step. But the Bennett Law was an easy explanation,

⁶Louise Phelps Kellogg, "The Bennett Law in Wisconsin," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 2:3-25 (September, 1918); and, by a participant in the events, William F. Whyte, "The Bennett Law Campaign," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 10:363-90 (June, 1927). For current opinion among educators, see John Bascom, "The Bennett Law," and J. J. Mapel, "The Repeal of the Compulsory Education Laws in Wisconsin and Illinois," in the *Educational Review*, 1:48-57 (January, 1891). Nils Haugen was the Republican congressman who survived the Democratic victory. See his "Pioneer and Political Reminiscences," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 11:121-52, 269-300, 395-436; 12:41-57, 176-91, 271-93, 379-402; 13:121-30 (December, 1927-June, December, 1929). See also Robert M. LaFollette, *Autobiography*, 134 (Madison, 1913), for the remarks of a defeated Republican congressman.

⁷See James H. Moynihan, *The Life of Archbishop John Ireland*, chapter 5, particularly pages 79-81 (New York, 1953); and Theodore Roemer, *The Catholic Church in the United States*, 293 (St. Louis, 1950), for views of these prelates.

with the circumstances surrounding its use in the campaign providing fertile soil for the seeds of anti-Catholicism.

No politically-minded organization of anti-Catholics existed in either Michigan or Wisconsin with any strength until after the elections of 1890. It is true that Michigan had experienced an anti-Catholic campaign conducted by the *Patriotic American*. But on the whole, the groups served by this paper existed as fraternal lodges rather than as political organizations. Since 1887, when it had been organized in Iowa, the American Protective Association had been available to anti-Catholics as a political vehicle. Not until after 1890, however, did the American Protective Association gain many members or much influence in either Michigan or Wisconsin. The increase of membership and influence which did occur then was a direct result of a "Catholic" political victory with Democrats the beneficiaries of the "Catholic vote."⁸

First reports of a flourishing council of the American Protective Association in Michigan occurred in March, 1891.⁹ This council was acting as a clearing house for members of other anti-Catholic organizations who were impatient with the lack of political action in their own groups. The municipal election of 1891 in Detroit intensified

⁸Humphrey J. Desmond, *The A. P. A. Movement*, 13-14 (Washington, D. C., 1912), reports correspondence with the founder of the American Protective Association to the effect that the Bennett Law helped to spread the order by illustrating Catholic encroachment. Desmond was editor of the *Catholic Citizen* of Milwaukee and a lawyer. He was a member of the Wisconsin legislature which altered the Bennett Law, and was the lawyer representing the Catholic family in the Edgerton Bible Case. See the *American Catholic Who's Who* for 1911. Desmond was also a graduate in history of the University of Wisconsin; see Merrill Jensen, editor, *Regionalism in America*, 87 (Madison, 1951). With this knowledge and experience, Desmond would hardly be likely to let the founder's statement go unchallenged if it were not substantially correct.

Harvey Wish, *Society and Thought in Modern America*, 267-68 (New York, 1952), describes the Bennett Law as an "A.P.A. Law." The implication is that the law was the result of American Protective Association activity. Yet Senator William F. Vilas, who possessed direct knowledge of the situation, described the law as a product of an "Eastern propaganda of hostility to private schools and the Catholic Church"; see his article, "The Bennett Law in Wisconsin," in *Forum*, 12:196-207 (October, 1891). The American Protective Association was certainly not Eastern, it was Middle Western at this time.

⁹William J. H. Traynor to Henry Baldwin, March 3, 1891, in the Henry Baldwin Manuscripts, in the Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library. Traynor was editor of the *Detroit Patriotic American*, and was national president of the American Protective Association from 1893 to 1896.

anti-Catholic sentiment when Mayor Pingree ran for and won reelection advocating the abolition of parochial schools, and when Catholic priests opposed the use of Freeman's *General Sketch of History* as a text in the public schools because of its assertedly biased account of the Reformation.¹⁰

Thus Hazen S. Pingree would appear to have been the first beneficiary of such anti-Catholic support as could be generated in Detroit. He was, however, not a "regular" Republican, so that his ambition to step into the governorship did not have the support of the Republican state boss, United States Senator James McMillan. Meanwhile, anti-Catholic activity appeared elsewhere in the state.

In the spring of 1892, William S. Linton, the unsuccessful Republican candidate for the lieutenant governorship in 1890, succeeded in becoming mayor of Saginaw, a victory which made him a likely prospect for nomination to a higher office in the fall. His election as mayor was the result of a clear-cut anti-Catholic campaign demonstrating that thereafter politicians would need to consider Catholic and anti-Catholic political sentiments in their plans for the region around Saginaw.¹¹ Linton's appearance in this fashion foreshadowed his career as congressman from Michigan as the national legislative spokesman for the American Protective Association.

As the Republican party prepared for its nominating convention in Michigan, Linton was neutral in the Pingree-McMillan fight for control. The goal of the anti-Catholics was to get the gubernatorial nomination for one of their own. Pingree was supposed to be acceptable because of his alleged membership in the Patriotic Order of the Sons of America.¹² Pingree could also muster convention delegates sympathetic to organized labor. Linton's neutrality on the governorship was explained by his known desire to receive united support from the convention for his nomination to Congress.¹³

¹⁰Alvin P. Stauffer, *Anti-Catholicism in American Politics, 1865-1900*, 198-201, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1933.

¹¹William R. Bates to James McMillan, April 7, 1892, in the James McMillan Papers, in the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library. Bates was a former secretary to McMillan, and was in 1892 secretary of the Republican State Central Committee.

¹²Bates to McMillan, April 6, 1892, in the McMillan Papers.

¹³Edwin R. Phinney to Harrison Geer, May 7, 1892, in the Harrison Geer Papers, in the Michigan Historical Collections of the University of Michigan. Phinney was postmaster at Saginaw, while Geer was federal collector of customs for Michigan. Both were McMillan men.

The convention nominated John Rich, a McMillan man, for governor, while no Catholic received a nomination. The result would seem to demonstrate that the McMillan forces out-maneuvered the Pingree group, although the failure to nominate the incumbent state treasurer, a Catholic who had survived the election of 1890, may have been the concession made to anti-Catholic sentiment in order to draw it away from Pingree.¹⁴ Linton received the place for congressman in the Eighth District. With attention thus paid to the desires of the anti-Catholics, the Republicans went ahead to recapture control of the state, so that Michigan's sojourn with the Democrats was actually of only two years' duration. This Republican victory in Michigan, moreover, took place in a year when the Democratic party elected a president.

The closeness of the cooperation between Republicans and the American Protective Association in achieving this result was shown in election post-mortems in Linton's district. On official stationery of the Eighth Congressional District Republican Committee, its chairman conducted the business of the American Protective Association, of which he was also chairman. According to this gentleman, the American Protective Association in Saginaw County numbered five thousand voters, of whom approximately 30 per cent were former Democrats. Of these, some 22 per cent had been persuaded to switch to the Republican candidates because of the Catholic issue and had contributed to the winning margin. In return for this contribution, the American Protective Association chairman now asked that one of the former Democrats be appointed to some minor post in the state-house so that all of them would be encouraged to remain Republican. In addition, he wrote, the victory had demonstrated so effectively that the American Protective Association was a factor in politics that the organization was increasing in membership rapidly and the "best citizens" were now coming into it.¹⁵ Whether the

¹⁴*Michigan Catholic* (Detroit), July 28, 1892.

¹⁵George W. Hill to Harrison Geer, December 14, 1892, in the Harrison Geer Papers. Another letter on this same subject from the secretary of the Eighth Congressional District Committee is circumspect, but revealing; see H. S. Brown to Harrison Geer, December 14, 1892, in the Harrison Geer Papers. Brown wrote, "... Mr. Linton owes his great success mainly to the careful fostering of an underground sentiment, which was judiciously handled by his Congressional Committee, and the strength of that element, helped our whole ticket, and particularly Mr. Rich throughout our District, as in our

former Democrat received his appointment does not appear in the record, but the writer of the letter, chairman of the American Protective Association as well as of the Republican campaign committee, was shortly rewarded for services rendered with an appointment as state salt inspector by the new governor.¹⁶

Carrying the burden of the Bennett Law as they had in 1890, Wisconsin Republicans were unable to retake their state from the Democrats in 1892. The decision for again making the Bennett Law the issue of the campaign rested with the Democrats. Chairman of the Democratic State Committee Edward C. Wall recognized the importance of the issue which had provided his party with a victorious alliance of German Lutherans, Catholics, and Democrats in 1890.¹⁷ He wished to preserve the alliance, although he nervously anticipated breaches in it at any moment, because he knew how unsubstantial it was. His difficulty lay, as he saw it, in attempting to reconcile within the same alliance the divergent forces of a traditional German liberalism, which opposed any coercion by the state, with conservative German Catholics and Lutherans, who opposed the Bennett Law because it infringed on their beliefs in church control over education.¹⁸ A Milwaukee city election in the spring of 1892 tested the alliance. With many misgivings, Wall found himself in the trying position of presenting a ticket "loaded down with Catholics, Irish, and saloonkeepers" which, he feared, would not appeal to Lutherans or to the independent voter.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the coalition held together and the Democrats were victorious once more.²⁰

Even with this victory under his belt, Wall was not at ease because he could see only too well the weaknesses of his alliance.²¹ As

canvass we ranked Rich along with Linton in making our plea on the lines referred to, and which you will understand without my being more explicit."

¹⁶Adrian, *Weekly Times and Expositor*, January 13, 1893.

¹⁷Horace Samuel Merrill, *Bourbon Democracy of the Middle West, 1865-1896*, 226-27 (Baton Rouge, 1953), introduces Wall as neither amateurish nor sentimental in his approach to politics.

¹⁸Wall's dilemma is nicely stated in his letter to Senator Vilas, August 25, 1891, in the William F. Vilas Papers, in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

¹⁹Edward C. Wall to William F. Vilas, March 18, 29, 1892, in the William F. Vilas Papers.

²⁰Telegram, Wall to Vilas, April 6, 1892, in the William F. Vilas Papers, saying, "Over three thousand for Somers. Great victory. Our Lutheran friends stood solid."

²¹Wall to Vilas, May 11, 13, 1892, in the William F. Vilas Papers.

the fall elections approached, the Democrats renominated Governor Peck and again repudiated the Bennett Law, as though the campaign results of two years before and the subsequent amendment of the law had not been sufficient.²² In the campaign which followed, the Republican candidate for governor, former United States Senator John C. Spooner, was unwilling to accept the Bennett Law as the issue; stating that he disliked any man who would inject religion into politics, he denounced the political use being made of the law, saying "I despise a Know Nothing." Hearing Spooner thus cut the ground from under what he assumed to be the Republican position, a member of one of the anti-Catholic groups wrote him in protest, "If it was right in '90 why is it wrong in '92?"²³ Unlike their fellow party members in Michigan, Wisconsin Democrats followed the national trend to victory in 1892.

In the interlude between the elections of 1892 and 1894, anti-Catholicism assumed some importance in Michigan politics because of the Pingree-McMillan struggle for dominance in the Republican party. Pingree was believed to have the support of the membership of the American Protective Association, but McMillan supporters thought that this tendency could be frustrated by capturing the officers of the organization. Nearly a year before the election, a confidential letter to McMillan suggested that the vice-president of the state American Protective Association be paid to go about among the American Protective Association councils seeking to withdraw support from Pingree.²⁴ McMillan was at first somewhat reluctant to accept the suggestion, but quickly convinced himself that the American Protective Association should be managed "so as to do what is right and proper." He asked for an estimate of the expense involved and volunteered to pay his share of it.²⁵

During the summer of 1894, two more of the American Protective Association state leaders enlisted with the McMillan forces. One

²²This comment is made editorially in the *Educational Review*, 4:95 (June, 1892).

²³B. N. Robinson to John C. Spooner, October 23, 1892, in the John C. Spooner Papers, in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

²⁴Elijah W. Meddaugh to James McMillan, December 11, 1893, in the James McMillan Papers.

²⁵James McMillan to Elijah W. Meddaugh, December 13, 1893, Letter-books, James McMillan Papers.

of these, John H. D. Stevens, was the man who would become the state secretary of the state American Protective Association in 1895. He worked throughout the state American Protective Association councils before the nominating convention in support of John Rich, the candidate of the McMillan forces, and afterwards for the ticket as well as incidental recognition of some sort for himself.²⁶ Another American Protective Association leader canvassing the Ninth Congressional District for the Republicans requested that his expenses amounting to \$1,000 be paid by the Republican organization.²⁷

John Rich again secured the nomination, while Republican nominees for Congress included William S. Linton, renominated in the Eighth District, and Rousseau O. Crump, mayor of West Bay City, nominated in the Tenth District. The *Patriotic American* announced that if these two men were elected, Michigan would have two congressmen pledged to American Protective Association principles.²⁸ Not so modest in its identification, a Catholic weekly named three more congressional nominees as American Protective Association favorites, thus exhibiting a tendency to label all Republicans as American Protective Association men.²⁹

On election day Michigan went Republican with a vengeance. Only one Democrat succeeded in gaining a seat in the state legislature, otherwise all places in it were gained by Republicans. With such a sweeping victory in hand, an American Protective Association newspaper outbid the Catholic weekly and claimed *all* the congressmen-elect, as well as 60 per cent of the new state legislature as sympathizers with the order.³⁰

A further indication of how the American Protective Association had been used in the election came to light in the spring of 1895. Two other candidates for the gubernatorial nomination were involved. The *Detroit Evening News* published facsimile letters purporting to illustrate a financial tie between certain Republican aspirants for the nomination in 1894 and some leaders of the American Protective Association. According to the story, Colonel Aaron T.

²⁶Bates to James McMillan July 22, 1894; and John H. D. Stevens to Charles Wright, October 6, 1894, in the James McMillan Papers.

²⁷Fremont C. Chamberlain to James McMillan, October 17, 1894, in the James McMillan Papers.

²⁸*Detroit Patriotic American*, September 1, 1894.

²⁹*Catholic Citizen* (Milwaukee), September 1, 1894.

³⁰*Wisconsin Patriot* (Milwaukee), November 10, 1894.

Bliss had promised to pay \$6,000 to the state president of the order, Charles T. Beatty, for Beatty's support of Bliss' nomination; of this amount, only \$1,000 had actually changed hands.³¹ As was to be expected, Bliss denied the story, while the *Evening News* described him as politically "dead" for the future as a result of it.³² These charges were made public while the American Protective Association was holding its annual state convention, so that their purpose could very well have been to destroy the confidence of the membership in its officers.

State President Beatty countered this first charge, which implicated him, by stating that a former secretary of the state council had put his influence on the block also. This second man had sought to sell his influence in the American Protective Association to Pingree, also an aspirant for the governorship in 1894. Pingree's manager, in this version, did not have the necessary \$300 and had virtuously kicked the American Protective Association man out of his office. This latter explanation appeared in a paper friendly to the American Protective Association.³³ The net result of these revelations, none of which included the American Protective Association leaders who had actually campaigned with the McMillan group, was the decline in political effectiveness of the Michigan American Protective Association.³⁴ Two years later, after a concentrated Democratic attack on him, Congressman Linton was defeated, while Hazen Pingree attained his long-sought governorship. The election of 1896, however, was not simply a Republican-Democratic fight in Michigan, but involved the appearance of the "Democratic People's Union Silver" ticket which undoubtedly had its effect on the results for both Linton and Pingree.³⁵

Back in Wisconsin, Democratic Chairman Wall realized that the usefulness of the Bennett Law to his party had been played out. He thought he could gain another victory for his party in 1894 by utilizing the alliance he had constructed and by using the American

³¹Detroit *Evening News*, March 13, 14, 1895.

³²Detroit *Evening News*, March 14, 1895, Editorial. Bliss was not "dead," he was elected governor in 1900 and again in 1902.

³³Omaha *American*, April 5, 1895.

³⁴Millsbaugh, *Party Organization and Machinery in Michigan*, 39, says corruption in Michigan politics was at its height in 1894.

³⁵Michigan *Legislative Manual and Official Directory for the Years 1897-98* (Lansing, 1897), for election returns.

Protective Association to replace the Bennett Law. For continued success he meant to overcome "prejudice by prejudice," that is, he intended to keep his liberal Germans, Catholics, Lutherans, and Democrats welded together by saddling the Republican party with the American Protective Association. If he were able to gain his purpose, his party would no longer be annoyed with committing itself on the "local option" controversy, which was also at issue. Through the Democratic newspapers of the state, he would very subtly present the idea that the American Protective Association had been responsible for the enactment of the Bennett Law in the first place. When this had been accomplished, and when the public had shifted its antagonism from the Bennett Law to the American Protective Association as the symbol of religious bigotry, he would then open his guns "all along the line." The Republicans would be caught in a quandary; if they supported the American Protective Association, they would lose German liberals and the Catholics; if they denounced the American Protective Association, they would lose that vote. The plan, and its cost, was presented to Senator Vilas for his approval.⁸⁶

That this well-laid plan would not go smoothly soon became apparent. The failure, however, was not because the plan lacked shrewdness or imagination, but because certain elements in Chairman Wall's picture did not remain constant within his framework. The defection came from the "liberals." The German language newspaper *Germania*, which to Wall represented the liberal viewpoint, prepared to attack those who permitted their disapproval of the American Protective Association to put them in a position of supporting Catholicism.⁸⁷ Then Wall's plans were exposed to public view when the *Kenosha Independent* revealed his entire plan.⁸⁸ Wall assured that the Lutherans would remain loyal to the Democratic ticket,⁸⁹ while his party went ahead with its plans by

⁸⁶Wall to Vilas, May 12, 1893, in the William F. Vilas Papers. Several other letters along this same line are in the collection: Wall to Vilas, September 13, 1893; and its enclosure, Ellis B. Usher to Wall, September 11, 1893; and Wall to Vilas, January 31, 1894.

⁸⁷John C. Schlerf to William F. Vilas, August 8, 1893, in the William F. Vilas Papers.

⁸⁸*Kenosha Independent*, January 16, 1894.

⁸⁹Christian Popp to William F. Vilas, April 23, 1894, in the William F. Vilas Papers.

attempting to clean house of all suspected sympathizers with anti-Catholicism so as to present a united front to the electorate.⁴⁰

Meanwhile within the Republican camp, aspirants for the gubernatorial nomination were aware that anti-Catholicism was a factor to be considered. Nils Haugen, the only Republican congressman to survive the Democratic landslide of 1890, was considering his chances for the nomination.⁴¹ He was informed that the state president of the American Protective Association was for him, while he was also warned not to seek the place but to remain in Congress, because the Catholics would vote for the Democrat "on account of this APA foolishness."⁴² Haugen was advised to be prepared to answer questions on the American Protective Association⁴³ at the same time he was reassured that the rank and file of its members were for him.⁴⁴

As they were in Michigan, Wisconsin's Republicans were engaged in a struggle for dominance within their party. Haugen was the candidate of the group opposing the "machine."⁴⁵ Coincidentally, perhaps, unity among the leadership of the American Protective Association was impossible. H. M. Stark, national treasurer of the organization in 1894, was supporting Edward Scofield for the gubernatorial nomination in hopes of being appointed to his old job as labor commissioner.⁴⁶ Franklin Hopkins, state vice-president, was supporting the candidacy of William Upham.⁴⁷ Both Scofield and Upham were acceptable to the "machine." At the convention, Upham received the nomination after several ballots, and in doing so

⁴⁰Herman Stromp to William F. Vilas, May 4, 1894; Frank P. Coburn to William F. Vilas, June 23, 1894, in the William F. Vilas Papers.

⁴¹Graham L. Rice to Nils Haugen, May 16, 1894, in the Nils Haugen Papers, in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

⁴²Arthur Gough to Nils Haugen, May 25, 1894, in the Nils Haugen Papers.

⁴³Robert M. LaFollette to Nils Haugen, June 7, 1894, in the Nils Haugen Papers.

⁴⁴Lorenzo N. Clausen to Nils Haugen, June 16, 1894, in the Nils Haugen Papers.

⁴⁵LaFollette, *Autobiography*, 181; Belle Case LaFollette, *Robert M. LaFollette, June 14, 1855-June 18, 1925*, 1:106-9 (New York, 1954).

⁴⁶Frank A. Flowers to Nils Haugen, June 25, 1894; Nils Haugen to Nicholas Grevstad, June 30, 1894; Robert M. LaFollette to Nils Haugen, July 16, 1894, in the Nils Haugen Papers.

⁴⁷Herman J. Finstad to Nils Haugen, July 6, 1894, in the Nils Haugen Papers.

apparently obtained the support of delegates who were American Protective Association men.⁴⁸

In drafting their platform, Republicans faced the problem of deciding whether they would accept the principle of the Bennett Law as one of their platform planks.⁴⁹ They decided to avoid the issue by emphasizing the necessity of re-apportioning legislative districts within the state, so as to have the advantage of promising a necessary reform.⁵⁰ This decision also assisted the Republicans in avoiding the Democratic charge that the American Protective Association found a natural home in the Republican party.⁵¹

The carefully constructed structure of Chairman Wall began to show fissures. The *Germania* was solidly Republican on national issues, and warned that German Protestants should not be willing to slip into the "arms of Rome" in order to beat the American Protective Association which was an ephemeral affair anyhow.⁵² A Catholic priest announced publicly that he intended to support the Republican candidate for governor, and a former Democratic newspaper denied that the "little red schoolhouse" was any longer the special property of Democratic politicians.⁵³

Wall's plans were carried out in the German language newspaper, *Der Seebote*, which reminded its readers that the Democrats had stood with them in 1890 and that the American Protective Association was in union with Republicans in 1894.⁵⁴ The *LaCrosse Morning Chronicle* continued to use the "little red schoolhouse" symbol to chastise the Republicans. However, this Democratic newspaper could not overlook the opportunity to take a swipe at the

⁴⁸C. W. Mott to John C. Spooner, July 27, 1894, in the John C. Spooner Papers.

⁴⁹George Koeppen to Nils Haugen, June 23, 1894, in the Nils Haugen Papers. See also Henry C. Thom, Republican state chairman, to John C. Spooner, July 17, 1894, in the John C. Spooner Papers.

⁵⁰Henry C. Thom to John C. Spooner, August 22, 1894, in the John C. Spooner Papers.

⁵¹*LaCrosse Morning Chronicle*, September 7, 1894. This paper was edited by Ellis B. Usher, former Democratic state chairman. Usher could find only one American Protective Association man on the Republican ticket in his own county; this man eventually ran some two hundred votes ahead of the Republican candidate for governor. See the *Morning Chronicle* for September 16 and November 7, 1894.

⁵²*Germania* (Milwaukee), October 9, November 2, 1894.

⁵³*Beloit Daily Free Press*, October 10, 1894.

⁵⁴*Der Seebote* (Milwaukee), October 19, 1894.

Irish; if there had been no Irish, it charged, there would have been no American Protective Association, and it stated further that Irish Catholics believed that everyone who disagreed with them was a member of it.⁵⁵

The American Protective Association meanwhile recognized that it was being used as a bogey man by the Democrats and announced its election position.⁵⁶ An advisory ballot was printed on which the letters R or R. S. stood for "Romanist" or "Romanist sympathizer," while P stood for "Protestant." All the Republican candidates were listed with a P, with some Democrats shown as R, and others shown as R. S. The only candidates actually endorsed by the American Protective Association newspaper, however, were Theobald Otjen and Henry A. Cooper, both running for congressional seats.⁵⁸

In celebrating the sweeping victory of Wisconsin Republicans which was duplicated by their party across the country, the *Abend Post* called the results "*Die Nemesis*" and "*Des Volkes Protest*," while the *Beloit Daily Free Press* commented that "when principles are at stake, isms invariably take a seat very far back."⁵⁹ Actually, Wisconsin's return to the Republican fold was quite in line with the national trend, a fact which Chairman Wall recognized when he attributed his defeat to "national issues and national issues solely."⁶⁰ The American Protective Association could not let the opportunity slip by without claiming the entire result as an American Protective Association victory.⁶¹

In neither Wisconsin nor Michigan could it be maintained that the American Protective Association claims and the Democratic charges as to the strength of anti-Catholicism were to be substantiated. The claim of 60 per cent of the Michigan legislature as members of the American Protective Association was tested in the legislative session of 1895. A compulsory school attendance law was enacted, and so was a law requiring all schools to fly the national flag. Neither of these was considered a part of the American Protective Association

⁵⁵*LaCrosse Morning Chronicle*, October 25, 26, 1894.

⁵⁶*Loyal American and the North* (Minneapolis), August 11, 1894.

⁵⁷*Wisconsin Patriot* (Milwaukee), October 27, 1894.

⁵⁸*Wisconsin Patriot* (Milwaukee), August 18, November 3, 1894.

⁵⁹*Abend Post* (Milwaukee), November 7, 1894; *Beloit Daily Free Press*, November 7, 1894.

⁶⁰Wall to Vilas, November 9, 1894, in the William F. Vilas Papers.

⁶¹*Wisconsin Patriot* (Milwaukee), November 10, 1894.

legislative program. Every piece of legislation which the order favored was either defeated or placed on the table—a record which does not indicate that the legislature was dominated by the American Protective Association.⁶² Governor-elect William Upham of Wisconsin appointed as his private secretary a well-known anti-American Protective Association Republican and, shortly after he was inaugurated, the American Protective Association weekly of Wisconsin wrote off the governor as a total loss because of this man's purported influence on the governor's decisions.⁶³

Thus by the fall of 1894 both Michigan and Wisconsin had returned to their usual political allegiance to the Republican party. Both had experienced a brief flurry of anti-Catholicism which undoubtedly had no strong effect on the outcome. Yet the sentiment had sometimes proved useful to the Republicans, who benefited by anti-Catholic support, and on occasion to the Democrats as well, who benefited by using it as a bogey man. The manipulators in most cases were the professional politicians, and neither party was more scrupulous than the other in the uses to which it put the sentiment of anti-Catholicism. To both parties it served a purpose in permitting each of them to avoid more pressing issues. Both contributed to the publicity which gave importance and prestige temporarily to the brief-lived American Protective Association.

⁶²See, Donald L. Kinzer, *The American Protective Association: A Study of Anti-Catholicism*, 329-31, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1954.

⁶³*Wisconsin Patriot* (Milwaukee), November 10, 1894; February 9, 1895.

Life at Michigan State University at the Turn of the Century

Mabel Bristol Yoder

IN THE VICINITY OF ALMONT WHERE I LIVE, COLLEGE is a must for the majority of our high school graduates, and this fact has been true for many years. I was impatient after graduation in 1897 to get started in advanced schooling, but finances were not immediately forthcoming to support two girls in college. However, it was finally decided in 1899 that I should share my sister's last two terms of college life so that I might get acquainted there and adjust more easily.

College life was not so different then and now, except in the number of students and expense.

My sister, Teresa Bristol Rainey, and I attended the school now called Michigan State University—Michigan Agricultural College then. We had more engineering students then than "aggies," so there was a strong movement on hand to get the name changed to Michigan State College, which finally succeeded.

We girls chose this college since members of our family had attended there almost from its start. Two uncles were going there at the time when I was born, as is proven by a letter to my father in congratulation on my birth; and others of the family had followed, and still do.

My sister started school there in 1896; the first year domestic science was taught. Michigan State University then had an enrollment of some five or six hundred students as compared to thirteen thousand or more lately. One could attend school on less than \$200 a year, and now a student needs nearer \$1,000. We boarded in clubs and paid for only the actual cost of the food, its preparation, and cooking; we girls taking turns in waiting on table.

At that time, Michigan State University frowned on fraternities and sororities, but we had similar organizations called literary societies. The men had several. The girls had only one when I went there, the Feronian Society, and we had to hold our meetings

in rooms belonging to one of the men's societies. When sororities were later allowed in the school, the Feronians went Alpha Phi. All societies met once a week. A literary program came first, followed by an hour or so of talking and dancing. All literary societies held parties quite frequently. These were largely dancing affairs, some societies being more popular with girls than others. These were small but jolly affairs, a piano furnishing the music.

The more formal and larger parties were called militaries, the men students being obliged to dress in their black and grey cadet uniforms—the college then providing military training. These garments were heavy wool-padded suits. Collars often were wilted by the three hours of dancing and were changed once or twice during the evening. We girls had the laugh on the men, for we wore formal gowns with low necks and bared arms, so were much more comfortable. There were dancing cards of about twenty numbers to be filled out and the more popular girls had more names down, hoping time would be sufficient for a few extra dances.

These parties were held in the armory, three or four of them a year, and we had the best orchestra from Lansing. Our escorts presented us girls with flowers to wear; roses, carnations, and English violets being favorites. We carried fans, usually those which had been given to us as high school commencement gifts, and these helped allay the heat caused by our very steady dancing.

The biggest social event of the year was the banquet and dance of the junior prom. This usually was held in Lansing and must have cost our escorts plenty as they hired hacks to take us to and from the party, two couples riding together. Our usual means of traveling the three miles into Lansing was the street car.

The Feronians gave several small parties during the year and one large one near its close, which we held in the armory. We decorated extensively for this, mainly with "cozy corners"—several seats screened off and made more comfortable with sofa pillows. Our refreshments were simple, usually being wafers and fruit punch.

We lived in dormitories, and one of our favorite amusements was "midnight spreads." Some of the girls' relatives would have sent something extra good to eat, such as homemade cookies; and we might add homemade fudge and popcorn; and we had one cook who was kind enough to slip us an angel food cake on the sly. We

kept the room where the feast was held darkened so teachers wouldn't catch us, as we were supposed to be in bed by ten o'clock. It seemed as if we were always hungry as the campus was large and we walked a lot going to classes in different buildings—among them the original old College Hall. Also, long walks were enjoyed by most of us, especially on Sunday mornings. We liked to end them by the banks of the Red Cedar River, lying on its grassy, sloping banks, just loafing. Usually we were a group of teachers and girls, though boys and girls together often wandered down the old farm lane or up by the railroad tracks, and the university wild flower garden was a favorite trysting place for all young folks, either in groups or twosomes. This pretty spot had much the same traditions as Flirtation Walk at West Point. The campus in those years was noted for its beauty and was said to have been the second most beautiful in the United States. Now big buildings have taken up so much space that there is little campus left to see.

Michigan State was then one of the six colleges in the state which were joined in athletic association. These schools played football and baseball games with one another, and held a track meet in Lansing each spring. There was much rivalry; Michigan State, Olivet, and Hillsdale being allied against Albion, Kalamazoo, and Michigan State Normal. The University of Michigan deigned to play a football game with our team each fall, and it was just a practice game for them. Once they beat us about forty to nothing. And now Michigan State has beaten the University of Michigan several years in succession. How times change! Colleges did not play basketball with other colleges then, though they played locally, and our boys played well. We had two girls teams and played Ypsilanti once that I remember—to our defeat, as their girls were many more in number and more advanced in athletics.

A good many of us kept bicycles at school and a few rode them to classes, but most of us used them only for pleasure, riding on a favorite course down through the orchard. Automobiles were just beginning to come upon the scene at the close of my college life.

Michigan State University was one of the first to introduce a domestic science course. This subject was not taught then much in high schools. I got on quite well in cooking, but in sewing my

teacher told me that the only thing which equalled my mistakes was my patience in ripping them out.

Other college subjects were the usual ones taught toward getting a bachelor of arts degree. We girls could have free piano lessons. The school was small enough to allow some individual instruction, if needed. Many faculty members were our very good friends. The second teacher in the English department gave me special instructions an evening a week for some time and did the same for others. There are surely some advantages in smaller colleges.

How the Kedzie family was honored in those days. Dr. Robert C. Kedzie was said to be the head chemist in the country. How pleased I was to have him as a lecturer in one of his last years of teaching. And dear Professor Frank, his son; I had him in laboratory work, and he was also a best friend. He had been a chum and fellow fraternity member in Phi Delta Theta of my uncles in the eighties, and my sister had helped earn her college expenses by working for him.

The two Hedrick brothers were excellent instructors: Wilbur O. Hedrick in history and Ulyssis P. Hedrick in horticulture. It was a great loss to the school when Wilbur O. Hedrick died.

The difference in the attitude of the young people of then and of now is illustrated by a slight incident that occurred while I was in school. The captain of the football team came of quite a wealthy family and treated the members of the team to a dinner at the close of the season. The meal was had at Lansing's best hotel, the Downey House. A report was circulated that wine had been served. Was the captain angry! He was a teetotaler and hated to be lied about, especially about something so against his principles.

Smoking was not allowed on the campus at that time, and now even the women's dormitories have smoking lounges. Women, in general, did not smoke then. Men usually used pipes or cigars. Cigarettes were considered to be effeminate and were in bad repute.

But oh! the complications and discomforts of our clothes of those times. After a girl was past fourteen long skirts were a must. The skirts were usually quite wide, though whether they were worn plain or adorned with ruffles, or plaits depended upon the style in vogue. Skirts were especially troublesome during the years from 1899 to 1902. We wore inner ruffles in our dress skirts, called dust ruffles,

and that was a literal name. We had a season or two when we were not supposed to hold our skirts up as we walked, and you can imagine the dust which we, unhygienically, dragged along. We did hold up the skirts of our party dresses while dancing. I felt quite daring in my so-called short skirt, though it was of shoe-top length (we still usually wore high shoes). This garment was called a rainy-day skirt, and we girls wore them to classes. Even our gymnasium suits had full bloomers, knee length, and we wore long, black cotton stockings with them and rubber-soled, low shoes. The first really short dresses did not come into style until about 1920, following World War I. We surely used up a lot of cloth before that, especially in our dressier garments. Shirtwaist styles helped simplify school clothes, but were they hard to launder at school where most of us were too poor to hire the work done for us. We cold-starched the collars, fronts, and cuffs, thus making ironing hard, and our time was limited. Much trimming was used on our best clothes; and lace, ruffles, and set-in insertion on our underwear—all hard to iron.

In winter our underwear was of heavy cotton or wool with long sleeves and legs, and in summer just an undervest of cotton or silk. Over these most girls wore a corset with a corset cover, usually prettily trimmed; some wore no corset, but only an underwaist in its place. All wore panties, then called drawers, mostly of cotton and trimmed with lace, tucks or ruffles, and the usual stockings were long and black cotton, wool, or silk. Most shoes were high-topped, laced, or buttoned. Only in party dress did we wear slippers. Two underskirts were worn, one short and the other dress length.

For school shirtwaists were the rule; cotton in summer and silk or wool in winter. Often we wore stiff, mannish linen collars, though sometimes just pretty ribbons. Belts with fancy buckles were an important item in our garb. Dresses were similar to today's except that they were longer and had high collars. Outdoor garments were not much different than they are now. Suits were very similar to those worn today, but heavy coats were shorter. We wore no fur coats, only fur neckpieces. A few girls carried muffs. Golf capes were popular in the early nineties. They were a pretty and a convenient garment with their attached hoods. The absence of hats in warm weather, except when one was dressed up, was started then.

We all took care of our own hair; washing, combing, and curling it with curlers or hot iron. Nearly all girls wore their hair long.

Much of our vacations was taken up in home dressmaking. Some sewing was done in shops, but more in our homes by seamstresses working by day or week. This was a good way, since it enabled mothers and daughters to help with the work. Much dress lining was used, so cloth manufacturers had a heyday in those years. Dress-making and millinery shops were general meeting places for women, and much gossip was indulged in, similar to that in beauty shops and card clubs of today.

Much has been written about the village general store and how men congregated there. That may have been true in villages having only one store, but many men in our town hung around the drug stores and blacksmith shops.

Men's garments were much like those of today. There were bicycle pants instead of golf pants. Suits were like those of the present. The shirts had white, high, stiff, and uncomfortable collars. I confess that it still shocks me slightly when I often have to look twice to see if I am meeting a boy or a girl on the street, since both dress in manlike shirts and blue jeans so much of the time. Much beauty in girls' and women's appearance has been sacrificed to convenience and ease in getting about and to garments which give longer wear. Shorts look extremely comfortable in hot weather and are becoming to slim folks, but I can't see how fat women and girls can look into a mirror and continue to wear either shorts or slacks, except in the privacy of their homes. However, much home labor is saved by our use now of simpler and more factory-made garments, though many women have to work in the factories to produce them. Perhaps households have suffered somewhat in women working outside their homes, but many help that way to provide extra money for higher education for their young people.

Manuscript Sources of Michigan Educational History in the Archives of the Historical Commission

Philip P. Mason

THE MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION RECEIVES HUNDREDS of inquiries each year relating to various aspects of state and local history. In many cases the correspondent requests information on source material on some phase of Michigan history. Within the last year, for example, the commission, and also the state and local history section of the state library, have received requests for information on various schools in the state. In most cases, such material was desired by persons engaged in writing histories of towns, villages, or schools.

Until six months ago the historical commission was limited in the assistance it could give to persons wanting primary material on a given area. Few collections of records in the archives contained any significant data relating to the field of local history. The Governors' Papers, comprising the largest record group in the archives, have some material on local subjects, but most of these records relate to removal proceedings against local officials. In order to answer letters of inquiries and to aid local researchers working on histories of towns, villages, and public institutions, it was necessary for the archivist to turn to secondary works, such as the *Michigan Historical Collections* or the county histories published at the close of the last century. Land and census records on microfilm at the state library also served as a source of historical data.

In April, 1955, the archives received a voluminous collection of records from the state department of public instruction. This collection consists of 305 bound volumes and covers the years between 1853 and 1930. It contains a wealth of information on local history, and particularly school history. The collection has been used frequently since April and is one of the most valuable sources of local history records in the custody of the commission.

Prior to this transfer to the State Record Center one year ago, the volumes were stored under the dome of the capitol. They are in excellent condition despite the poor facilities under which they were stored. The bindings on about a hundred volumes, however, will have to be replaced before they can be used extensively.

The collection consists of the following record series:

School Inspectors' Reports, 1859 to 1930	280 volumes
Township Superintendents' Annual Statistical Reports, 1876 to 1881	5 volumes
Register of Examinations for State Teaching Certificates, 1891 to 1926	1 volume
Register of Teachers Examinations, 1894 to 1919	10 volumes
College Certificates, 1894 to 1910	1 volume
Endorsed First Grade Certificates, 1894 to 1903	1 volume
County Normal Certificates, 1907	1 volume
Kindergarten, Music and Drawing Certificates, 1901 to 1910	1 volume
Primary Fund by Districts, 1906 to 1915	2 volumes
Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1853	1 volume
Apportionment under Turner Act, 1929	1 volume

Of the series of records transferred, the school inspectors' reports are by far the most important for research purposes. It is hoped that a description of this series will acquaint students of Michigan history with this source of primary material.

The school inspectors' reports were made on standard 15 by 18 inch forms and filed annually with the state superintendent of public instruction. A complete set of reports is available from each township in the state for the years 1859 to 1930. Each year these reports were arranged alphabetically by counties, and within the county by townships; and bound. Although the data required on the inspectors' reports changed over the years, certain basic information was required in each report. A detailed description of the one for 1870 will give the reader an idea of the historical material found in the typical report. The school inspector in that year was required to supply the following information: Name and post office of the director of the school district; number of children in

each district between the ages of five and twenty years; number of children that attended school during the year; number attending school under five, or over twenty years of age; average number of months that scholars between the ages of five and twenty attended school; number of months of schools during year taught by qualified teacher; number of volumes added to the library during the year; number of volumes in the district library; and amount paid for books.

The report of 1870 lists detailed information on the schoolhouses in each district. The inspector was to indicate whether the school was a log, frame, brick, or stone building. An examination of school inspectors reports for a twenty-year period often shows the improvement of school facilities from a log schoolhouse to a frame building, and finally to a brick or stone school. The monetary value of the school building is also entered on the report.

The inspector was also required to enter information on the following points: Is it a graded school?; number of visits by the county superintendents and directors; number of qualified teachers employed; aggregate number of months taught by all the qualified teachers; total wages of teachers for the year; and number of months board procured in the school district for the teachers. Although the names of the teachers are not given, the report does break down the information by male and female teachers. This dichotomy is especially valuable since it shows a comparison of salaries paid to male and female teachers.

In addition to the data on the students, schools, and teachers, detailed information also is given on the financial situation in each school district in the state. This material is entered on the bottom half of the school inspector's report. It is broken down into two categories: receipts and expenditures. In the 1870 report the following data is given under the heading of receipts: money on hand September 6, 1869; money from the two mill tax; primary school fund; tuition of nonresident scholars; district taxes to pay teachers and incidental expenses; other district taxes; tax on dogs; revenue raised from all other sources; total resources of the year.

Under the heading of expenditures, entries were made under the following: paid male teachers; paid female teachers; paid for building and repairs, and on debts for the same; paid for all other

purposes; amount on hand, September 5, 1870; total expenditures for year; total indebtedness of districts.

The reverse side of the sheet contains further information on the schools. A large column is devoted to a list of the textbooks prescribed by the district boards and used in the various district schools. The condition of the township libraries is also revealed in this section of the report. The number of volumes in the town library; the number of volumes added during the year; the amount voted at the spring election for libraries; and the amount paid for books for town libraries is recorded here.

In some of the earlier reports the visiting inspectors were requested to furnish information on the following points: 1. The condition of the school houses, and their sufficiency in size and convenience; kind and condition of school apparatus, outline maps, etc. 2. Condition and usefulness of township and district libraries. Are the books well selected and much read? What can be done to improve the libraries? 3. General condition and progress of the schools, as seen in the good order, morals and behavior, thoroughness in scholarship, and in punctual and regular attendance.

In is unfortunate that this part of the report was discontinued in 1868 for it often gave a deeper insight into school conditions than the statistical data described above. This was particularly true if the school inspector was observant and reported carefully on the condition of the schools, libraries, and student attitudes.

The written report of the visiting inspector of schools for Bedford Township, Monroe County, in 1863 is typical of those received in the 1860's. In that year there were seven district schools in Bedford Township and a total enrollment of 243 students. Of the seven schools, only one, District Number Four, was a graded or union school. Thirteen female teachers and one male teacher were employed in the township, and they each received about \$40 for teaching six months. The report reads as follows:

Districts number 4 and 7 contain each a large and commodious building; the former a neatly built brick two-stories high and well ventillated (*sic*); the latter a substantial stone building one-story high, well-seated and sufficiently large to accommodate fifty scholars or more.

Neither has much apparatus save good black boards, Mitchel's Outline maps and Emmon's Astronomical chart.

Districts number 5, 6, 8, 9, and 10, contain each a small frame house, except district number 10, in which there is a small log building. It is hoped and believed that better buildings are soon to take the place of these nearly valueless ones. Three of the last mentioned districts have Emmon's Astronomical Chart and an old edition of Mitchel's Outline Maps, which comprise their entire school apparatus.

A very creditable interest is manifested on the part of pupils, and their conduct, proficiency and morals are very fair if not all that could be desired. Scholars have not been as regular and punctual in their attendance as is desirable owing in part, at least, to the prevalence of epidemic diseases. There is no District library in the township.

Each director draws from the township library a portion of books for his district. The township library is in good condition and its usefulness can hardly be estimated; the books have been selected with care and are generally read. We expect in few days to expend the library money now on hand toward augmenting the library and increasing its usefulness.

The records of the department of public instruction described above are available for research in the archives of the historical commission in Lansing. Further information on the holdings can be obtained by writing to the archives.

Cora Doolittle Jeffers

Lorna Weddle

CORA JEFFERS WAS A GREAT TEACHER; in fact, she was one of the outstanding women educators in America. Her death brought to a conclusion a teaching career which covered almost fifty-nine years of Michigan public school service.

She was born April 1, 1871, in Wheaton Township, Hillsdale County, on the farm of her parents, Martha and Charles Doolittle. She could trace her ancestry a great many years back in American life.

She first attended school in Hillsdale County and later was a pupil at Hudson. After graduation from high school she began her teaching career at the age of sixteen by teaching in rural schools. She attended Michigan State Normal College, where she was an outstanding student and from which she graduated with high honors in 1891.

Because of her remarkable scholastic record, she was asked to assume the principalship of the Sault Ste Marie high school. This position was held until 1894, when she married Frederick Albert Jeffers and went with him to Adams Township, where he had been superintendent of the Atlantic Mine schools for three years previously.

When Mrs. Jeffers came to the Copper Country as a bride of twenty-three, Atlantic Mine was a thriving community and the only settlement in the township. Education for all children was a new idea. Mr. and Mrs. Jeffers, he as superintendent and she as principal, worked with determination and enthusiasm and in 1897 eight students were graduated from their high school. It was a gala day for the whole community. From then on they worked steadily adding courses to the curriculum, improving the equipment, and raising the standard of the school. Many hundreds of students have been guided through the grades and high school to graduation and to useful lives under the tutelage of the Jeffers.

The exceptional ability of Mrs. Jeffers to organize and produce programs and entertainments brought favorable attention. Her work

attracted nationwide attention to such an extent that it was described with pictures in *Time Magazine*. She achieved fame for her folk dancing and rhythmic work. In preparation for teaching these, she studied dancing at Harvard and New York and took rhythmic work with the ballet of the Metropolitan Opera Company.

Her physical education exhibitions were so beautiful, perfect, and unique that physical education teachers came from miles around to see them and learn from them. The precision, beauty, and instant response to directions of the participants in her exhibitions amazed those who witnessed them. In her military marching as many as four hundred students participated, all working with an accuracy that military observers said would compare favorably with military marching anywhere.

She was the author of *Rythmatic Work*, published in 1923. The book was judged to have such merit that the Michigan Department of Public Instruction asked permission to use it as a textbook for physical education. Mrs. Jeffers gave the department the right to her book, which she did not have copyrighted. She contributed it to the state of Michigan. This book was in great demand in many parts of the nation; in fact, months after her death, a request came from a teacher in Maine for a copy, but not was available.

One of the most remarkable events in this teacher's life came when the Painesdale school system constructed a swimming pool in 1934. The only swimming pool in this part of the Upper Peninsula, it definitely issued a challenge to Mrs. Jeffers, a challenge she refused to reject. At an age, when most folks are visioning retirement, she took up swimming. Prior to that time she had never paddled a stroke. Not too long after the pool was in full use, Mrs. Jeffers was teaching swimming and diving.

As the mines developed along the Copper Range the population increased and, therefore, there were many more pupils, which necessitated a new high school. In 1909 a new one was built and Mrs. Jeffers was elected principal of this modern, well-equipped school. Mr. Jeffers became superintendent of a series of schools.

Some summers she taught at Northern Michigan College of Education and at Michigan State Normal College. Other summers she attended colleges, taking courses in subjects being taught in her high school. She attended extension classes whenever she could,

and any and all good plays and lectures. She was always alert to learn. She read good magazines and new pedagogical works avidly; she was always looking for textbooks better than the ones in use.

She was a most versatile teacher, capable of taking any class from kindergarten through high school and making it interesting and instructive. She was the first one to institute the practice of permitting boys to take domestic science and the girls to study manual arts one day a week. The students did equally well in both classes. Her discipline was strict and steady. She never needed to call her superintendent to enforce any order that she might give.

As a public speaker, she was most interesting, marshalling her facts and arguments so perfectly that they allowed no rebuttal. She had a fine sense of humor which added to her popularity as a speaker.

Mrs. Jeffers worked incessantly and hard for any project in which she believed. One of these was equal suffrage, for which she talked and lectured; even paying for the hall rental herself. When the right to vote was finally granted women, she was the first one of her sex to register in her precinct and never missed an opportunity to cast her ballot. She was intensely interested politically, not so much in party, but in men and their principles. Though working hard for some candidate she never sought political favors for herself. She participated in all projects involving civic good, such as the selling of Easter, tuberculosis and March of Dime seals. Mrs. Jeffers played a leading part in community and educational activities in the Upper Peninsula. In 1915 she was president of the Upper Peninsula Education Association.

During the depression, when men in the little mining town of Atlantic Mine were working on starvation wages, she and her domestic science teacher spent hours looking over food programs, experimenting with low-priced foods that could be used in the preparation of cheap and yet nutritious meals. Then she called meetings of the mothers of the community and gave them recipes to help them prepare nutritive meals at the lowest cost for her pupils.

Her numerous curricular and extra-curricular activities should not cause us to forget that Mrs. Jeffers was also a home woman. She shouldered all the responsibilities of her home, which was located across the street from the school. Frequently she worked a garden in the vicinity and took pride in canning its products.

Her teachers respected her as a woman, a friend, and a supervisor during the years she guided the pupils in Atlantic Mine as their principal. She was indefatigable in her work. Usually it was her custom to report at the high school shortly after seven o'clock in the morning because she did much of the official stenographic work.

One of the most remarkable features of Mrs. Jeffers' career was the way in which she teamed up with her husband so that together they accomplished more than any two working separately could have done. Newspapers throughout the state of Michigan referred to the Jeffers as a "teaching partnership." Mr. Jeffers served as superintendent of schools for fifty-eight years, and Mrs. Jeffers served as high school principal for fifty-five years; thus together establishing a record in education in length of combined service. During that time thousands of students were guided through their school career by these two inspired educators. Mrs. Jeffers taught the grandchildren of the children whom she first taught.

She finally overworked her fine physique and died a martyr to her educational zeal. The doctors said, "she had completely worn out her physical machine by the grilling program she carried out." She died March 29, 1949, two days before she would have been seventy-eight years of age.

In 1949 Northern Michigan College of Education was given the right to grant honorary degrees. The first two persons to have been so honored by a Doctor of Laws degree were Cora and Fred Jeffers. If these plans could have been carried out, it would have been the first time in the history of education that a husband and wife were granted honorary degrees by the same institution at the same time. But Mrs. Jeffers' death necessitated a change. The honorary degrees were given to her husband as planned, and to Miss Sylvia Eskola.

Mrs. Jeffers was a master teacher and a truly great woman. Her life reminds us of the lines of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's "A Psalm of Life."

Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time.

Her influence in the lives of her pupils and the people of the community was so deep and far reaching as to be immeasurable. She

was quick to help in time of distress and trouble, to praise where praise was due, and to reprimand strongly, where needed.

The following tribute to Mrs. Jeffers is by Harry J. Trainor, superintendent of the Lake Linden-Hubball schools.

The passing of Mrs. Cora Jeffers leaves those of us working in the field of education with a deep sense of loss and sorrow. To many of us she was an inspiration, urging us to give more and more of our time and effort that the rising generation might lift itself a notch higher than that achieved by the previous one in the attainment of life's objectives. She gave so liberally of her own abilities and knowledge that respect and admiration were her natural due. Her courage, personal magnetism, great sense of humor, insight into the art of teaching common sense, and dynamic physical and mental vitality all went to make her a great teacher. These outstanding attributes made her not only a great teacher, but an admirable and lovable inspirational character.

Mr. and Mrs. Jeffers' joint service in the Adams Township school amounts to over a hundred years. This may well be a national record. I doubt if it will ever be matched. Any two people who can hold responsible public positions for such a period of time must be people of great ability, personal magnetism, understanding, patience, and love for the work being done. We'll all miss Mrs. Jeffers' comradeship and inspiration.

Kate Helen Brown

Lorena Adams

PROMINENT AMONG THE OUTSTANDING PIONEER WOMEN EDUCATORS of her day we find Kate Helen Brown, who was a teacher and constructive leader in the Pontiac school system for forty years.

Miss Brown was born May 4, 1866, in Utica, the daughter of Elizabeth and Richard Brown. She spent the early years of her life on a farm near Utica where she attended a rural school with her sister, Mary; a stepsister, Janice Freeland; and a stepbrother, Richard Belt. She finished her elementary education in Detroit.

Her teaching career began in the rural schools near Utica and Oxford, where she remained until she became affiliated with the Rochester schools. From Rochester she came to Pontiac where she served as principal of the Central School, and director of the Oakland County Normal School during many years of its existence. She was supervisor of all elementary grades; and, when the elementary grades were divided, she became supervisor of upper elementary grades until her retirement. During her four decades of active service, Miss Brown filled many posts always with unassuming reserve and unquestionable leadership. She retired in July, 1937, because of ill health.

Her activities, however, were not confined to the schoolroom. A founder of the local parent-teacher organization, Miss Brown devoted her gifts to its ever-increasing service to the parents, children, and the schools. She was also interested in serving her church, in which activity her work was continuous until her death, February 10, 1940.

She possessed rare native ability and genuine elements of leadership. A keen sense of humor was a part of her endowment and eased her over many difficult situations. She had the loyal devotion of hundreds of teachers, who at one time or another were under her supervision, and was always a welcome visitor to the young people when she went to their schoolroom.

No tribute to Miss Brown could be more effective than the simple

eulogy of the Rev. Bates G. Burt, rector of All Saints' Church, of which she was a member.

In the death of this beloved fellow-worker in Christ, we lose from our midst the radiant presence of one whose gracious Christian character and devoted service in the church have been through the years an inspiration to all who have known her. Over a long and difficult period in the life of this parish, she directed the church school, serving both as a teacher and superintendent. Her rare ability as a leader and organizer was freely given in guild and woman's auxiliary work. A wise counsellor, a valued helper, and a loyal friend to the rector and the church workers, Kate Brown has exercised an influence for good more far-reaching than we can ever measure or conceive.

In her work in the public schools of Pontiac, she has made a record unexcelled in the departments in which she served. Her complete sincerity, genial nature, practical common sense, and winsome personality have made her thousands of loyal friends among parents, teachers, and pupils. So we give high praise to God and humble thanks for the life and labor of His faithful servant who, having finished her course in faith, goes on to the well earned reward of an earthly life lived richly and beautifully. Here, indeed, was a true Christian saint. She served her day and generation with fidelity and honor. What more or better could be said of anyone?

The Newburg School, 1831-1918

Dominic P. Paris

THIS IS THE STORY OF THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT of the school at Newburg. It is the story of a school in a small hamlet which is now part of Livonia, a suburb of Detroit which became a city in 1950. Newburg could easily be lost in the Rouge Plant of the Ford Motor Company. It could just as easily be lost in many Michigan communities. Its story could also be the story of many other settlements in the state of Michigan.

Newburg was a community of farms and farmers. Many of the claims were taken up during the terms of John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson. The crops were wheat, corn, hay, and oats. Large flocks of sheep, for both wool and meat, were a common sight until the 1870's when dogs and coyotes raised havoc with several flocks. The farmers killed the remaining sheep and took them to Detroit where they sold at seventy-five cents a carcass.

After the sheep were gone the farmers replaced them with cows. With the coming of the Detroit, Lansing, and Northern Railroad in 1871, milk became an important cash crop. Many farmers sent the milk to Detroit, others to a local dairy on the Ann Arbor Trail, and still others to one of the five cheese factories in Livonia.

This was good farming country. The soil ranged from sand to clay, with most of the area having rich loam. As the land is fairly level and but poorly drained by the Rouge River, most of the farms contained some swamp lands. The roads too, were bad, being almost impassable in the spring of the year. The native trees consisted mainly of tamarack, beech, oak, and elm.

Geography made Newburg. It is located on the Rouge River at the junction of Ann Arbor Trail with Ann Arbor Road. Ann Arbor Road was the main stagecoach route to Chicago and was heavily traveled. Ann Arbor Trail was the road between Dearborn and Walled Lake; and Newburg, being the halfway point, was a coach stop where the horses were changed and the thirsty male passengers had an opportunity to wash the dust from their throats at the local



NEWBURG SCHOOL AREA

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Nicky Bowie's Cider Mill | 9. Old gristmill |
| 2. Newburg School | 10. Newburg cemetery |
| 3. Methodist Church | 11. Ladies Aid Hall |
| 4. Detroit Urban Railway | 12. Old Inn |
| 5. C. R. Carson's General Store | 13. General store built by A. Greer |
| 6. Postoffice | 14. US-12 (came into existence in 1924) |
| 7. F. J. Levandowski's General Store | 15. Newburg Lake (built 1932) |
| 8. Emma Arnold's old home | 16. Blacksmith shop |
| 17. Legion Hall | |

tavern, owned and operated by Horace Heath. Nearby was Plymouth Road, running westward to Plymouth and eastward to Detroit, twenty miles away. When this became a plank road in 1850 many of the farmers hauled their produce directly to the city.

Here too were the inevitable mills; a cider-mill, first run by Nick Bovee, and a gristmill a half mile down stream. On the site of the cider-mill Henry Ford built a dam, powerhouse, and small factory in the 1930's. This small plant, with the lake and land surrounding it, has been recently acquired by the Parks Division of Wayne County and is now an integral part of the Edward Hines Parkway.

Today Newburg is primarily a bedroom community. It still has some old large farm houses and some small clapboard huts. It still has a few truck and fruit farms. Its Methodist church, built in 1834, and its cemetery, where the first burial occurred in 1827, are the oldest in the city of Livonia.¹ But Newburg has had many changes. The dairy is gone. The gristmill burned down seventy-five years ago. The inn burned down in 1896 and was never replaced. The old store still stands, empty, with a "For Sale" sign on it. New homes have sprung up among the old. Ann Arbor Road and Ann Arbor Trail are paved and more cars now travel them in an hour than there were coaches in a week. Although the community is still sleepy and quiet, one can sense the hustle and bustle of the large city that has not quite reached Newburg but is casting its shadow over it.

Why the name Newburg? Two stories attempt to explain it. Anthony Paddack, one of the earliest settlers, who arrived in 1831 from Newburgh, New York, supposedly gave the struggling community the name of his old home. But Paddack said it was not so—it was called Newburg because it was a "new burg."²

The first resident of the district was Asa G. Johns, a merchant who later became postmaster, and who settled near the junction of Ann Arbor Trail and Ann Arbor Road. The year of settlement was 1819, just one year after the survey of Wayne County was begun. Other settlers moved in rapidly from New York and New England

¹Newburg Cemetery records in the possession of Fred G. Geney, who has been an officer of the cemetery since 1922.

²The story of the naming of Newburg comes from a family history written by Egbert Paddack, a grandson of Anthony Paddack. This history is now in the possession of Charles Paddack of Plymouth.

with a few from Ireland and Germany until by 1831 the township was ready to be divided into school districts.³

At one time Livonia was part of Bucklin Township, which was established in 1827⁴ and named after William Bucklin, a justice of the peace who resided at what later became Nankin Mills. In 1829 Bucklin Township was divided into two townships to be named Lima and Richland, but Governor Lewis Cass did not approve of the bill because two post offices of the same name already existed in the United States. To find names unlikely to be duplicated, Nankin and Pekin were selected, and the division was approved October 29, 1829.⁵

By 1834 the population of Nankin Township had grown so that residents in the area which now is the city of Livonia petitioned for local government. The division of Livonia Township from Nankin Township was approved on March 17, 1835, and the present boundaries of the township, which now are the city's, were set, with Eight Mile or Base Line Road on the north, Redford Township on the east, Joy Road on the south, and Plymouth Township on the west.⁶ The first township meeting was "held at the school-house near the center of the township."

Previously, in 1831, while still part of Nankin Township, the area had been divided into school districts. Each district was made up of four sections. The school was to be situated somewhere near the center of the four in order to make the distance to be traveled by the scholars not more than two miles. The Newburg school, District No. 9, was composed of Sections 29, 30, 31, and 32. Later, in 1837, when Livonia Township was divided into school districts, the south

³*Illustrated Historical Atlas of the County of Wayne Michigan* (Chicago, 1876). Other information came from descendants of early settlers. Both Clarence M. Burton, *History of Wayne County and the City of Detroit, Michigan* (Chicago, 1922); and Silas Farmer, *History of Detroit and Wayne County* (Detroit, 1890) give different names and dates for the earliest settlers. Documentary evidence proves that Livonia was settled earlier than they state.

⁴"An Act to Divide the Several Counties in This Territory into Townships and for Other Purposes," in *Laws of the Territory of Michigan*, 2:479 (Lansing, 1874).

⁵"An Act to Set Off and Organize the Townships of Nankin and Pekin, in the County of Wayne," in *Laws of the Territory of Michigan*, 2:737.

⁶"An Act Organizing Certain Townships," in *Laws of the Territory of Michigan*, 3:1368.

half of sections 19 and 20 were added and District No. 9 became District No. 8.

The districts originally comprised four sections. They did not long so remain as many parents, for various reasons, demanded and obtained changes. An early change led to the loss by District No. 9 of eighty acres. The transaction is recorded by the school commission of Nankin Township in 1834 as follows:

In conformity to a provision in the school act for building school-houses we have seen fit to exonerate Ebinezer Smith from paying a tax levied on the E. $\frac{1}{2}$ of the N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 32 and think it expedient to set said lot to School District Number 4 and have the same recorded as witness our hands Nankin, April 16th, 1834.

HENRY WELLS

ABRAHAM PERRIN

*Commissioner of Schools*⁷

This might have been due to the fact that Ebinezer Smith also owned eighty acres in the neighboring school district now called Stark, and as the schoolhouse of that district was less than half a mile from his home, he no doubt preferred sending his children there and also probably saw no need to pay school taxes in two districts.

The first entry in the official record of District No. 9 does not mention how the schoolhouse was built or financed. We know that there was a schoolhouse, however, for the minutes state:

The first anual [*sic*] School Meeting held at the schoolhouse in Nankin, Wayne County, Territory of Michigan, in School No. 9 on the 26th of November, 1831, Norton Noble chosen chairman and Warren Tuttle secretary and the following officers were elected and resolutions adopted.

JOHN J ANDREWS

GEORGE DURFEE *Trustees*

NATHANIEL ELDRIDGE

WARREN TUTTLE *District Clerk*

JAMES DUNN *Treasurer*

WM SMITH *Collector*

⁷This and succeeding quotations are from the minutes of the school board, which extend from 1831 to 1918. I am unable to explain why the minutes cease in 1918. There are two hundred unused pages in the minute book. I have tried unsuccessfully to find the minutes from 1918 to 1944, when six school districts, including that of the Newburg School, were consolidated. No one seems to know where they went. The minutes are in a brown, leather-bound ledger eight by twelve inches in size, resembling a bookkeeping ledger of the type used fifty years ago. The ledger is now in my possession.

Resolved that the Trustees purchase a Stove and Pipes for Said District by a tax.

Resolved that each inhabitant of the District furnish one quarter of a cord of wood to each Scholar that they send to School. On motion adjourned until the first Monday in October 1832.

W. TUTTLE, *Clerk*

We are not told how the schoolhouse was built or financed, but a school must have been there else there would have been no need for the stove and stove pipes whose purchase was authorized at this November meeting. According to old residents of the district the schoolhouse was midway between Newburg Road and Ann Arbor Road on Ann Arbor Trail.

The school district remained unchanged until 1837, when after notices to all qualified voters had been sent, a meeting was held on May 5 to form the new district mentioned above, School District No. 8 Fractional Livonia and Nankin Townships. At this meeting officers for the new year were elected. The new school board adjourned until October 2 when the first annual meeting was held. The method of furnishing firewood for the school was again discussed and it was voted again that parents supply the fuel. It was also decided to have school for only three months during the coming winter. This decision, however, was not followed literally, for school in 1837 was kept for four months. The teacher during this first "year" of school was Tilotson Munger.

In 1838, \$10 in taxes were raised to pay the teacher for four months of school. Evidently the method of supplying firewood for the school was not too satisfactory because in 1841 it was resolved that those not furnishing the wood two days after they were notified would be "subject to pay one dollars per cord to the officer furnishing the wood."

By 1843 the need for more education was felt. It was decided to have three months of winter school taught by a male teacher and four months of summer school taught by a female teacher. It was also decided that two thirds of the public money be applied to the summer school. These sums varied from year to year and evidently more money was raised than was anticipated. The winter school was extended one month, continuing on through February of the school year. From 1843 on the school term seldom dropped below four

months for each session. Money was raised regularly to pay the teacher's wages and for repairs to the school when they were needed.

Money for the operation of schools was raised in several ways in the 1850's. A one mill tax, later raised to two mills, was placed on property, of which \$25 went for a library. A tax not to exceed \$1.00 was placed on every student in the district between four and eighteen years of age. This money was raised at the annual school district meeting and was collected the same as other taxes. A rate bill was made out by the director of school districts against persons sending children to school for the amount of tuition and fuel for which they were liable. Interest on money received from the sale of school lands was another source of money. This was known as the primary fund. Money collected from fines and the unexpended residue of poor allotments were also given to the schools. In 1847 a balance of \$9.82 in the poor fund was appropriated to the primary school fund. At the township meeting in Livonia in 1843, it was resolved that a fine of \$10 be placed on stallions over eighteen months of age, a fine of \$5.00 on bulls over one year of age, and a fine of \$3.00 on rams running at large, to be paid to "the school district where said ram may run at large and the other penalties go to the support of the poor."

Taxes, in the 1850's, 1860's and 1870's, according to our standards, were not very high. The state, county, township, road, and school taxes on forty acres of land in 1852 amounted to \$1.90. In 1870 this same parcel of land was taxed \$6.38, and in 1876 the tax was only \$1.43.

These exceedingly low levies, judged by modern standards, were sufficient to operate the schools of the district at that time. Charts of salaries in 1840 show that wages ranged from \$8.00 to \$22 a month for males and from \$4.00 to \$10 a month for females. The average salary for males was \$14.23; that for females \$5.00. The teachers received additional compensation in the forms of board and room through the customary practice of boarding them around.

In spite of these ridiculously low salaries and the primitive conditions of the schools, many people, especially young ladies, applied for teaching positions. These young ladies, after completing eight years in an ungraded one-room school, were examined by the township inspectors and on passing an examination were qualified to teach

in the township for two years. Such examinations were held twice yearly in the townships. The first certification of teachers in Livonia Township took place in 1844 when one young lady and four men were given permits. Certificates to teach were granted other years at the discretion of the inspectors.

Teachers, then, as now, were given time off to attend institutes. The first of these meetings in Michigan was held at the State Normal School at Ypsilanti in October, 1852. Several teachers from Livonia Township were present. The main topics of discussion by the eight speakers and chairmen were wages, teaching of reading, and attendance. The purpose of these institutes, which had begun in the East ten years previously, was to acquaint the teachers with the new trends in education. The first meeting was well attended and plans were made for others throughout the state.

Discipline was a problem in the schools then as well as now. Many of the older and larger boys came to school during the slack season on the farm to see how much fun they could have at the teacher's expense, and some, to tell the sad truth, managed to whip the teacher.

The duties of the teacher included heating and cleaning the school as well as teaching the youngsters. Contracts as late as 1900 had a clause in them to the effect that the teacher agreed to "see that the school is in comfortable condition at 8 o'clock A.M." during said term and to stay at the schoolhouse noon time without further compensation.

A school of the time must be described to be appreciated. The Rev. John D. Pierce, first superintendent of public instruction in Michigan, in his report to the state legislature in 1837, recommended that the schoolroom be equally warmed throughout. A thermometer was recommended for each room and the temperature was to be kept around sixty degrees. The windows were to be high enough to prevent outdoor occurrences from distracting the pupils and to keep the air off their necks and heads. Pierce suggested that twenty-one feet of space be allotted each child. The floors were to be level, and the desks, with curved backs to fit the pupils, were to be bolted to the floor, with the desks of the smaller scholars in front.⁸

⁸*Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction . . . 1837*, 30 (Detroit, 1837).

The year 1845 brought two important changes in the life of the Newburg school. Nonresidents could no longer attend and no longer was the board to have trouble over the furnishing of wood. That year the board voted to buy "twelve cords of good wood two feet long to be furnished by the lowest bidder." The contract was let to George Rider, a resident since 1827, for thirty-eight and one half cents a cord, delivered and piled. It was also decided at this meeting to have four months of winter school and five months of summer school.

No radical changes occurred in 1847 except that "no scholar be allowed to remain or be admitted in said school having any contagious disease." Five taxpayers asked that a special meeting be called to raise money for a new building. The meeting was called and the suggestion was voted down.

The next few years brought but a few minor changes. For several years money had been appropriated for repairs to the log school-house. In 1848 the amount for repairs, let to the lowest bidder, was thirteen shillings, roughly \$3.25. The following year the repairs amounted to \$5.00. But in 1850 it was decided to sell the old school-house, the stove, and the furniture to the highest bidder. They went to Joseph T. Wilder for \$8.31. The meeting was then adjourned for four weeks. At the adjourned meeting on November 7, 1850, it was

voted to build a School House in District No. 8 the ensuing year and to raise two hundred dollars. Voted the house be completed by the first of October next. Voted the house be 24 by 28, 9 feet between joints. Voted to adjourn to the second Monday in April next at six o'clock p.m.

Evidently things did not go as smoothly as the board expected. Although the old schoolhouse had been sold in 1850, the raising of money was reconsidered at the annual meeting in 1851 and \$50 was appropriated for repairs to the old one. This amount was to be raised by "a tax on the inhabitants." Again in the same year, because of a deficit in the budget of the preceding year, it was voted to raise the \$7.75 owed Miss Charlotte Smith, the summer school teacher, "by the old school bill to each taxable member in proportion to number of days sent."

In 1853 a new stove was purchased to be paid for by a levy on the grand tax list, and the old stove was sold to the highest bidder, the

above mentioned J. T. Wilder for \$1.50. More repairs on the school building were voted, the cost of which was to be charged to the winter school bill. The winter school was to receive two thirds of the public money with the remainder going for the summer session which was to be taught by a "competent female teacher." The winter school term began the second Monday in November.

In 1858, for the first time, the contracts, pay, and length of term of the teachers were recorded. A change was made in the method of furnishing wood. The district reverted to the method discarded thirteen years previously by asking the parents to furnish wood for each child they sent to school. Should they fail to do so by the first of January, the district authorized George Rider to provide the wood at the rate of \$1.00 a cord. Again money was provided to make up a deficit of the preceding year and \$50 was authorized for the winter school. The record states:

On the 15th of Nov. 1858 a contract was entered into with O. R. Pettengale, a qualified teacher of the township of Canton, Wayne Co., Michigan to teach the winter school for twenty-five dollars per month of twenty-four days each or \$100 per ninety-six days labor and he be boarded. School commenced Nov. 15, 1858.

On the 2nd day of May a contract was entered into with Miss Mary Harlan a school teacher of Livonia to teach the summer school for the term of four months of twenty-two days each for which service well and faithfully performed the Director agrees to pay her the sum of ten dollars per month and board her. School commenced first Monday of May 1859. After teaching seventeen weeks and one day and a half she was taken sick and being unable to continue her school after a vacation of three weeks Miss P. E. Durfee was hired to teach the school for two months at the above rates. School closed on the 25th of September 1859.

J. S. TIBBITTS, *Director*

The following year was again a year of indecision. After first voting \$400 to be spread over two years for a new building, the board reconsidered and rescinded the motion. Instead, another \$5.00 was voted for the repair of the school building.

The indecision finally jellied in 1860. In that year the board managed to pass and retain the vote for a new building. The sum of \$200 was to be raised in 1860 and a like amount in 1861 with the building to be completed by November of the later year. It was also



Courtesy Godfrey Mende

NEWBURG SCHOOL BUILT IN 1922



Courtesy of Godfrey Menéndez

Newburg school built in 1861 and standing on Newburg road. Note fence made of oak boards and posts as called for in the minutes.

decided to spend \$12 for privies to be completed before the start of the winter school.

Now that the money was actually appropriated, the next problem confronting the board was the site of the new school. Evidently the site north of the river was too distant for some of the scholars, for after some debate a vote was taken and it was decided to extend the present site of the school six rods north and six rods south. The vote was carried by twenty-four to twelve. The names of all thirty-six voters were listed and how they voted was duly noted. Although the new school was built in 1861 the money for the addition to the site was not voted until the annual meeting in 1861 at which time \$50 was appropriated to pay for the land and to dig a new well. Before the school year was over, one new privy had been built at a cost of \$15. It was also voted to appropriate the mill money to the winter school and the primary money to the summer school. Money for wood was again voted and the bid was let for \$1.00 a cord.

The same year saw the building of a new fence around the newly-acquired land at the rate of \$1.08 per rod and the moving of the old fence for twenty-nine cents a rod. The cost of the additional land was \$35. This amount was paid to Horace Heath, who owned the general store and tavern next to the school. E. Bennett was hired to teach the winter school for "\$20 a month and be boarded for four months," and on May 5, 1862, Nancy J. Dean was "hired to teach the summer school for 16 weeks, 5 days for a week, for \$2.50 per week."

The two chief events in 1862 were the raising of \$275 for past indebtedness for the new building and the resignation of the director. The resignation was accepted and the vacancy was immediately filled. Lemuel Blunt was hired to teach for the following school year and, on November 19, 1863,

commenced his school in District No. 8 in Livonia. He taught school one and a half months for which the District paid him \$20 per month which was \$30. He then left. Then Eliza McCarthy commenced and taught seven months and a half for which the district paid her three dollars a week.

The woman teacher, as usual, was paid but a small part of the male's salary.

Prices were increasing. In 1865 wood sold for \$1.62 a cord for five cords. In 1865 it was decided to dig and brick a well and install a pump, the job to go to the lowest bidder. The accepted bid by John Rider was for \$15. Evidently some one backed out on the deal, for the next year the well problem was again to the front and \$50 was allotted for the well which was to be "covered with good oak plank." Another use for oak was found when a fence was built "on the front of the school ground." "The fence was to be built of good oak boards and good sawed oak posts for fifteen shillings and a linx fence per rod."

This too was the year when it was decided that the teacher was to examine the school and "if any damage is done it is to be reported to the Director together with the name of the person doing the damage and collection be made from the parents." The first teacher on whom this duty fell was Edwin Lathers,

who commenced school Nov. 14 that year and after teaching two months and three days was paid \$50.30. The school year was finished by Cate Bradley who taught for two months for \$30. The summer session began April 17 and was taught by Nancy Cable who worked three months and seven days for \$46.76.

Beautiful surroundings must have been of some importance to the members of the school board in 1865 for it was decided to set out fifty maple trees and that these trees be of "suitable size and set out at the proper time." The bid was let out to J. S. Tibbits for \$5.00. Two motions fell by the wayside—one to paint the schoolhouse white and the other to purchase a plantation bell. A motion which was adopted in 1865 stated that "all damage to this school property be paid by the perpetrator of such damage."

Newburg school became a graded school in 1869. Up to this time a student attended until he finished the prescribed work. Now he was graded and the books had to be chosen for the various grades and subjects. Light on the process of selecting new books is thrown by the minutes of the meeting for 1871.

The School Board having this day made a prescription of textbooks to be used in this School District for the ensuing two years and until another prescription is made according to law to wit:

Spelling Books	Sanders
Readers	Sanders
Writing book	No prescription made

Mental Arithmetic	Stodards
Arithmetic	Thompson
Bookkeeping	No prescription made
Algebra	No prescription made
Geometry	No prescription made
Geography	Comalls
Grammar	Sills
Natural Philosophies	No prescription made
Chemestrie	No prescription made
Physiologie	No prescription made

of school District No. 8 of Livonia and Nankin.

IRA J. BRADNER, *Director*

The minutes of the meeting for December 10, 1879, shed further light on the selection of books. Changes in the textbooks prescribed were made almost yearly for the next decade.

The board met in the Director's office. Members all present. The Moderator stated that the object of the meeting was to confer with G. B. Hodge, agent for the introduction of Harpers school books (who was present).

The conference resulted in

The adoption of	and	the discontinuance of
Harpers Geography		Cornell's Geography
Harpers Geography Introductory		Cornell's Geography Introductory
Harpers Scott's large Hist of U. S.		Young Ladies Reader
Harpers Swinton's New Language Lessons		— — — — —
Harpers Samson's copy books		Spencerian

S. Dean was appointed Book agent of this Board and directed to order
 15 copies Geography
 15 copies Geography Introductory
 18 copies Scotts History
 18 copies Swinton's new L. Lessons
 18 copies Samsons copy Books

The board instructed the Teacher to refuse to hear any more classes in Sanders primer—to drop from his classes the Young Ladies reader in three days after the arrival of Scott's History. Those who are not prepared to purchase to be allowed 30 days and in the interval read in the fourth class. The introduction of other Books in the prescription to be left discretionary with teacher. Meeting adjourned.

JOHN PATTERSON, *Director*

Auditing was first mentioned in the records of District No. 8 in 1871. A recapitulation of receipts and expenditures appears for the first time in that year. The receipts were as follows:

Cash on hand at the beginning of the year	\$ 12.00
Received of township treasurer Jan. 19, 1871	175.00
Received of township treasurer Feb. 28, 1871	150.49
Received of township treasurer July 18, 1871	91.85
Total amount in his hands for the year	<hr/> \$429.34

I have paid out for the District the following amounts to wit:

Paid James F. Armstrong for wood	\$ 20.00
Paid N. C. Nast for teaching winter school	200.00
Paid Mary A. Brown for teaching summer school	120.00
Paid I. J. Bradner order painting school house	50.00
Paid I. J. Bradner order painting school house	35.39
Endorsed an order on order to self for services as assessor order for \$8 as above	3.95
	<hr/> \$429.34

And I have to report that the amount of indebtedness of said district remaining unpaid and for which provisions must be made this year is four and 5/100 dollars. I would also report that the Library money has been expended for books according to law the number of volumes added to the Library is ten.

I. J. BRADNER, *Director*

Other payments were \$10 for the salary of the director, \$2 for cleaning the school house twice, and sundry minor ones for such staples as brooms, chalk, and a shovel.

The affairs of the school prospered as well as might be expected for the next few years. The annual meetings were taken up with such ordinary items as the wood supply, the length of summer school, and the sex of the teachers to be hired. In 1872 the teacher was F. M. Pitcher, whose salary was \$220 for four months. The number of pupils was sixty-two, of whom twenty-eight were girls and thirty-four were boys. They were from four to twenty years of age. The best attendance was seventy-six days while the least was ten days. The oldest boy in school was twenty years of age and attended a mere nineteen days; and the youngest was a girl, aged four, who attended seventy days. More than half of the pupils were present sixty or more days.⁹

⁹Egbert Paddack Papers.

As far as is known, only one of this group of students, Miss Emma Arnold, is still alive. She at that time was eleven years of age and attended school seventy days that term. Her good attendance may have been due in part to the fact that she later taught school for a year, and, as a potential teacher, had an interest in school. Her brother, Arnold, also attended school at that time and later became a teacher. The same year the census report showed 105 scholars in the district. The number of pupils enrolled in the winter school for the following year was eighty-one. There was an average attendance of sixty. The summer school had forty-two students enrolled with thirty-three in attendance.

The annual minutes for 1875 reflect expenditures for two new items. First, \$2.50 was allowed for the teacher's visit to Ypsilanti; and second, it was voted that "the records of the district be transferred to a new book so much as is necessary to keep a clear record of the proceedings of the District since its organization." The recommendations of the board were carried out. A new book was purchased for \$10 and Warren W. Tuttle was paid \$5.00 for copying the old records. When the copying was finished, the new minute book was examined and found correct by the entire board on June 26, 1877.

The records become more complete and complex as the years go by. All receipts and disbursements are carefully recorded. It also seems to have been the policy of the school to record frequently the hiring of the teachers. Occasionally now the teacher boards himself, a reflection, no doubt, of higher wages he received. It is also to be noted that the teachers are sometimes hired, not by the board, but by a vote of the taxpayers who attend the annual meeting.

Not too much mention has been made of the library which existed in every school district. As had been stated above, \$15 of the mill money yearly was to go to the library fund in the township. This fund was sometimes added to by fines. At times this fund was used to purchase dictionaries, which the board no doubt felt it could not afford out of current income; to repair or purchase books and book cases; and even to purchase globes for classroom use.

At least once District No. 8 used the balance in the library fund to pay the salary of the summer school teacher. Since reports of how the money was spent had to be given to the township school inspector and to the Department of Public Instruction, subterfuges

were sometimes resorted to in order to keep both sets of officials happy. Reports of any sort were extremely difficult to obtain and the superintendent of public instruction once recommended that primary money be withheld from districts which failed to make their reports. After this request was made the ten districts wholly or partly in Livonia Township sent in forty-seven reports.

As early as 1845 Livonia Township reported that it had 139 volumes in its various school libraries. One district in a neighboring township reported that its library consisted of two volumes which led the state superintendent of public instruction to comment that two volumes "make a rather small township library."¹⁰

That the Newburg School was aware of the necessity of a library is shown by instructions given the librarian in 1878 "to distribute and receive library books on each alternate Thursday." Four years later it was resolved that "a suitable person be found by the board at or near the corner to take charge of the library and deliver books at all reasonable hours and that said party receive \$5 yearly for such services." In 1888 it was voted to have a township library. The location of the building, its size, and the number of books were not specified.¹¹ It appears probable that the motion was rescinded at a later meeting.

Ideas as to the teacher's responsibilities toward his students differed widely in the 1880's from those of today. Rules for the teacher's guidance in 1880 stated:

The prescription of text-books to be enforced—the teacher to hear no classes that use other books.

The teacher must maintain order and this board pledges its utmost support to that end.

The teacher will receive no suggestions kindly or otherwise during school hours as to the conduct of her school and if any are intruded upon her, she is to disregard them.

No scholars will be received who are under five years old.

The teacher will use her influence to prevent difficulties among her scholars coming to and returning from school but her disciplinary authority and responsibility ceases when they are dismissed at night or excused during the day and leave the school grounds.

¹⁰"Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction . . . 1845" Joint Document number 5:124, in *Joint Documents of the Senate and House of Representatives at the Annual Session of 1846* (Detroit, 1846).

¹¹I have discussed this township library with the older residents of the community, who say that no library existed.

The teacher will solve no problems for the scholars during school hours that do not belong to the regular lesson for the day.

What a far cry from the teaching situation of today when many of the problems solved by the teacher are not of the regular lesson but of every day life!

The school board had many and varied problems. In 1880 these included the insuring of the school building, the charging of tuition to "foreign students," the purchase of new seats as required in a "modern school," the sale of the old seats, the yearly wrangling over the painting and repairing of the school building, the choosing of texts, and the charging of parents for the new books. Occasionally new items created problems for the school board. A good example is the one brought on by thirty-five of the good ladies of the community who requested that the Bible be read in school. This problem was neatly sidestepped by leaving the reading to the discretion of the teacher.

The board also had serious troubles in keeping itself up to the prescribed number of three members. Almost yearly there were resignations and new appointments. When one considers the amount and importance of the business before the board, the problems that arose for its consideration and that most of the members received no remuneration for their services during the first forty years of the district's existence, it is surprising that any person was willing to serve at all. It was not until 1906 that board members were paid. Before this time only the director was paid, and he received \$10 a year.

The costs of maintaining the school rose yearly. Whereas in the first years of its history no money was raised by direct tax for support, it was now necessary in the 1880's to raise sums which for those days must have been large amounts. The budget for 1883 amounted to \$427.08; of which \$250 was to come from the direct mill tax, \$127.69 from the primary and dog tax, and the rest from sundry other sources.

More money was needed because costs were higher. Wood now sold at \$2.45 a cord. The male teacher for the winter school received as much as \$55 a month. His female counterpart received up to \$5.10 a week for the summer session. Money was also being spent for such unheard of innovations as cleaning the schoolhouse and

starting its fires. Then, too, the standard expenses had to be met: class registers, chalk, kerosene for lighting the fires, brooms, mops, paint, lime and hair, nails, a new dictionary, and the perennial painting and repairing. Before 1883 it had been the policy to pile the wood outside the building and to carry it in as it was needed. Someone was usually paid about \$2 for this chore. But in 1883 the board decided to build a twelve by fourteen wood shed with "good sills and frame with seven foot posts, shingle roof, and good door." The building was completed and \$40.07 was allocated to pay for it.

One new source of income makes its appearance in the 1880's, a dog tax. How much the dogs were taxed or how the tax was collected is unknown to the writer, but it was fairly lucrative, for it averaged about \$25 a year and in 1893 reached the fairly respectable figure of \$40.29. The dog tax, together with the primary fund from Livonia and Nankin townships, and the direct mill tax, brought in well over \$400 yearly. More was to come in the near future. Education was becoming expensive. The cost of keeping a child in Newburg in 1903 rose to the staggering figure of \$5.66!

Sometime before 1876 the schoolhouse was moved from its old location to its present location on Newburg Road near Ann Arbor Road. About a decade later a new roof replaced the old flat roof. Other major repairs must have taken place in 1897, for the budget shows expenditures of \$133.88 for lumber, labor, and the building of a new chimney. In 1905 \$248.63 was spent for lumber, labor, and incidentals. Surely some major face lifting must have occurred. The woodshed has disappeared, a victim of fire early in the present century.

After deciding to put in a new floor before fall if necessary, the school board in 1901

moved and carried that if the teacher discovers any one with lice that she send them home to clean up. Moved and carried that any damage done to school property will have to be paid for by one doing damage.

This was also the year when it was decided to purchase a stove that burned either wood or coal. The cost of the stove was \$90.25. The following year the board bought coal for \$16.20, which included the price of hauling.

In 1906 for the first time all three members of the board were paid for their services. The director and treasurer drew \$10 yearly and the assessor \$5.00. This may have been because at the end of the year members of the board had \$489.61 on hand; and with the tax money coming in they found themselves with \$1044.51 at the beginning of the new school year. Accordingly they voted that there be no tax on the inhabitants that year and still managed to end up with a balance of \$629.72. It was not until 1910 that they again voted a tax. That year the amount to be raised was only \$150. It was also during this period of affluence that the board decided to purchase a good secondhand organ. On August 30, the treasurer accordingly paid Albert Stevens \$30 for such an organ.

Several of the pupils who finished their studies in the one-room school went on to high school in Plymouth. Tuition was paid by the parents. Attending school in Plymouth was relatively easy as a trolley car operated between Plymouth and Newburg. The Detroit Union Railways had built a branch line that served the northwest section of Wayne County. The trolley line ran from Detroit to Redford, Farmington, Northville, Plymouth, Newburg, Wayne, and then back to Detroit. This line was known as the Hawk Line. The depot and stopping place of the trolley and of the stage coach that had run through Newburg earlier stands yet on the corner of Newburg Road and Ann Arbor Trail.

In 1911 \$80 was allowed for tuition for two students. Further expenditures for tuition occurred. They were usually \$20 a semester per student. The highest paid in any one year was \$160 for four students. Three unusual expenses incurred in 1911. One was for \$3.00 for a census, the first time such an item appears in the record. Another was \$2.60 for "Directors salary to convention." The third was \$2.85 paid to Carson's store for "books destroyed by the Board of Health."

As mentioned above, the board refused to approve direct taxes on the community for four years. Even after the resumption of taxing, it failed to provide enough to operate the school from year to year. To meet the added expenses of tuition and the increased cost of teachers, it was necessary to borrow money from a bank in Plymouth. This became a yearly occurrence until by 1917 it was necessary to borrow \$575 in order to carry on its business. In that year the salary

of the teacher was \$55 monthly, the tuition was \$123.50, salaries for the three members of the school board had increased to \$50 yearly, and other expenses had increased accordingly. This, too, was the year when the Michigan Teachers Retirement Fund for the first time received a payment. The amount was \$1.38.

On July 8, 1918, the last meeting noted in the minute book was held, and the only business out of the ordinary was the motion to change the doors to open outward. As this motion was carried, the change was undoubtedly made.

The story of District Number 8 does not end with the meeting mentioned above. The school was to live on for another twenty-five years before consolidating with five other districts in the township to form what is now the Livonia School District. The Newburg School is still standing, not the one-room clapboard building completed in 1861, but a four-room brick structure built in 1922, more than two decades before consolidation. The old building was sold several times before it was added on to another building a few hundred feet from its old site. The present structure is now used as an antique shop on Ann Arbor Trail. Truly a fitting close for a building that saw many generations of Americans grow from childhood into adulthood, marry, raise a family, and pass on into oblivion.

The sight of this building must bring many happy thoughts to the old residents of the area. It must bring back memories of broken windows, of which there no doubt were many; of mice and mouse traps, so often mentioned in the minutes; of squabbles over salaries and the amount of taxes to be raised; of fences to be repaired or rebuilt; of teachers, old and young, competent and incompetent, of which there must necessarily have been many, for few ever returned for a second term; of spelling bees, and painting bees, and yard grading bees, and perhaps other bees; of the waste of such school supplies as chalk, which some years cost as much as fifty cents; and last but not least, of romances, of which no doubt there must have been more than a few.

And so ends the life story of a school district and two schools as gleaned from the incomplete annual minutes in an old brown ledger, entitled in gold, *District No. 8 Fractional Livonia and Mankin townships*.

Did Early Railroads Increase Crime In Michigan

Harold M. Helfman

THAT THE EARLY, SMOKE-BELCHING LOCOMOTIVE MONSTERS would result in defacing the countryside, in passengers becoming physically upset, and in cattle made violently distempered, were popular myths of the early era of railroad building in the United States. To these must be added the hitherto unpublicized charge made by Michigan prison authorities in 1857 that an increase in crime committed in that state could be squarely attributed to the spread of the iron rails.¹ Indeed, to this writer's knowledge, this declaration by responsible Michigan penal officials constitutes the only written statement made by a contemporary prison group of any state suggesting the close correlation of the growth of railroads and the increase of crime.

This claim was supported by a numerical breakdown of commitments to the Michigan State Prison as contained in Warden William Hammond's report of 1857. His statistics disclosed that Wayne, Jackson, Calhoun, and Lenawee counties, though having less than one fourth of the state's total population at that time, were responsible for nearly one half of the prison inmates in Michigan. Moreover, of the 170 convicts received during 1857, only nine were born in Michigan. How else could these facts be explained, Warden Hammond suggested, other than of the four counties in question, three bounded the Michigan Central Railroad and one was on the Michigan Southern line?

Seemingly, the "railroad hypothesis" was a foolproof commentary on the social trends of the time. With Michigan the connecting link in the chain of railroads from the Hudson to the Mississippi rivers, the two roads across the state had become thoroughfares for traveling thieves, cardsharps, burglars, pickpockets, and counterfeits. These blacklegs usually stopped in Detroit, Jackson, Battle Creek, or Adrian for a few days, plied their trade, and as soon as

¹"Annual Report of the Inspectors of the State Prison of the State of Michigan for the Year 1857," *Michigan Joint Documents*, 1857, number 7, 22-23 (Lansing, 1858).

they had excited the attention of the local police, off they went to a new railroad town. Inevitably, prison officials reasoned, some of these transient floaters would be caught in the act of crime and would be sentenced to the state penitentiary, thereby accounting for the disproportionate commitments from these four Michigan railroad centers.

The board of inspectors of the Michigan State Prison suggested the "railroad theory" only in its 1857 report and then dropped the matter abruptly. Since the charges were neither re-echoed in the reports of other state prisons nor championed by Michigan delegates to the various national prison congresses, the local commissioners must have realized that their simple thesis was far from conclusive in explaining the increase of crime in the pre-Civil War day. Modern penologists consider the cause of criminal behavior as arising from physical and psychological abnormalities, emotional psychoses, the home and family, and economic and occupational conditions. Squared against such considerations, the "railroad theory," though interesting, seems but an impressionistic a priori explanation of the commitment statistics.

Yet the frantic consternation of the supporters of the hypothesis can be well imagined when one realizes that financiers were then engaged in constructing another railroad across the state, from Detroit to Milwaukee!

Register Your Historic Sites Now

Willis F. Dunbar

THE MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION needs the help of history-minded citizens and local historical societies to effect the registration of all historic sites in Michigan having state-wide significance. The commission will also be glad to register historic sites having local importance. The last session of the legislature enacted a law authorizing the historical commission to register historic sites and the commission already has set up the machinery for carrying into action the registration program.

Why should historic sites be registered? There are some very important reasons. Plans are under way to have published a guide to historic spots in Michigan, and all important sites should be included in this guide. Furthermore, an effort will be made to obtain the cooperation of the state highway department along two lines: first, to have historic sites indicated by a symbol on the official highway map of the state; second, to have direction signs erected on state trunk lines where historic sites are located on the highway or near the highway. If these plans can be carried out, it will constitute a tremendous impetus to visitors to our historic sites by reminding them where these sites are located and by helping them to reach the location.

Must historic sites be marked in order to be registered? No. The plan is to register all historic sites of state significance whether or not they already are marked. Of course it is hoped that if a site is of state-wide importance, steps will be taken to mark it if a marker is not already erected. However, it is not necessary that the site be marked in order to have it registered.

How do you go about it to get a historic site registered? Here are the simple steps to follow: 1. Write to Dr. Lewis Beeson, Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing 13, Michigan, and request application blanks for the registration of historic sites. Dr. Beeson will mail these to you at once. 2. Fill out one blank for each historic site. You will need to indicate the exact location, describe the site briefly, tell why it has historic importance, state whether

it is marked and if so, the inscription on the marker. That's all there is to it. Just mail the filled-in blanks back to Dr. Beeson. A committee of the commission will then pass on each application, and those which are deemed to have state-wide significance will be registered and given a number; those regarded as having local importance will be registered separately and given a distinctive number. As soon as every community in the state has been given an opportunity to register its historic sites, plans can go ahead for the guidebook and the effort to secure the cooperation of the highway department.

There is no cost for registration. All you have to do is to take the time to obtain the registration blanks, fill them in, and return them to Dr. Beeson.

There is no limit to the number of applications which may be made by any one community or county.

Who should take the responsibility for registering historic sites? Any local historical society, any history-minded or civic-minded citizen may apply. There is only one condition: that the consent of the person owning the site must be obtained. This should entail no difficulty in most cases.

Your cooperation is needed now. Let's get this program rolling right away.

What about markers? The historical commission has adopted a standard historical marker for all sites of state-wide significance and another for sites of local importance. When a site is registered, permission is given to erect one of these official markers. If your local historical society or other local group is interested in marking a historic site after it is registered, Dr. Beeson will furnish you with complete information regarding the official markers, and how to go about obtaining one. Sites which already are marked, of course, will not necessarily need to have one of the new markers. The erection of markers is up to the local community unless the property where the site is located belongs to the state. In such case, the erection of a marker is the responsibility of the state. In any event, the site should be registered first. Once that is done, the historical commission will give you every help in securing a marker if one is not already erected.

May we have your help?

Michigan News

THE CHIPPEWA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY was host August 12-13 at Sault Ste Marie to the sixth annual Upper Peninsula historical conference. Representatives were present from the Alpena Archaeological Society, the Finnish Historical Society of Hiawathaland, the Detroit Historical Society, and the Bay, Cass, Chippewa, Delta, Genesee, Gogebic, Kalamazoo, Keweenaw, Marquette, and Washtenaw County historical societies.

Visits to the restored Schoolcraft, Johnston, and Bishop Baraga houses and to the historical museum of the society were enjoyed. Reports from the Upper Peninsula historical societies Friday afternoon indicated the growing interest and activities of the organizations during the past year. The Friday evening program was highlighted by two movies. The first, the University of Michigan film of the Soo Locks, was preceded by remarks from Dr. F. Clever Bald, president of the Historical Society of Michigan and author of *The Sault Canal Through 100 Years*. A copy of this thirty-six page booklet was presented to each dinner guest. Delegates also received a white leather bookmark by the Northwestern Leather Company and a square nail from the administration building at St. Mary's Falls Canal from John Mackin. Mr. Herman Ellis, official Mackinac Bridge photographer, presented colored slides of the Mackinac Bridge and answered questions about its construction.

A delightful boat trip through the Canadian locks and a visit to Welch's diorama of the "Soo 100 Years Ago," filled Saturday forenoon. Many delegates visited the Marine Fair and Exposition at Pullar Stadium where Harvey's hammer or steam punch was on display.

To Miss Myrtle Elliott, president of the Chippewa County Historical Society and general chairman of the conference, and to local society members belongs the credit for a most enjoyable, interesting, and stimulating conference. Conference guests included Joseph E. and Estelle L. Bayliss, authors in collaboration with Milo M. Quaife of *River of Destiny: The St. Marys*, published this year by Wayne University Press. Present at the Friday dinner were Dr. and Mrs. A. B. Speekenbrink. Dr. Speekenbrink, who is minister of economic

affairs at the Netherlands embassy in Washington, D. C., in company with Mr. Willard E. Wichers and Mr. C. A. Paquin made a tour of the locks. There were two guests from Canada and two from Indiana.

An invitation, extended by Mrs. Edith Aspholm of the Finnish Society of Hiawathaland, to hold the seventh annual conference in Crystal Falls in 1956 was accepted.

The Minnesota Historical Society has established the Solon J. Buck Award, to be granted each year to the author of the best article published in *Minnesota History*, the society's quarterly magazine. The award carries with it a grant of fifty dollars from a special fund provided by a friend of the society. The winner for 1954, Dr. Francis Paul Prucha of St. Marys, Kansas, was selected by a committee of three, with Dean Theodore C. Blegen of the graduate school in the University of Minnesota as chairman. Dr. Prucha was thus honored for his article on "Minnesota 100 Years Ago as Seen by Laurence Oliphant," which appeared in the summer, 1954, issue of the quarterly. All authors whose contributions appear in *Minnesota History* become eligible for the award. Anyone writing in the field of Minnesota and Northwest history is invited to compete.

MR. VICTOR F. LEMMER OF IRONWOOD, a trustee of the Historical Society of Michigan, has deposited in the Michigan Historical Collections at the University of Michigan two United States land patents issued to Indians at Lac Vieux Desert in 1863 and 1870. The first was issued to Cog-gog-e-was and bears the name of Abraham Lincoln. The other was issued to Mush-ko-wa-go-na-be and Nah-ah-qug-gah-bo and bears what appears to be the signature of President Ulysses S. Grant. Lynus Kelly of Watersmeet got the patent from Frank Brunk, an Indian, who found it in a trunk in his house. It is surprising that these patents have been preserved for so many years.

THE GOGEBIC COUNTY MICHIGAN WEEK committee through its chairman, Victor F. Lemmer, is the recipient of a certificate of merit from the National Sports Festival praising its efforts in stressing the "values of well-conducted sports and recreational activities in the community, encouraging widespread support of sound recreation programs, and introducing more people to the fun and recreational benefits of healthy sports participation." The Gogebic County Historical Society actively cooperated in the Michigan Week program. Among the other activities of the society reported by Mr. Lemmer at the Upper Peninsula historical conference was the educational program which called attention to specially interesting historical events and also emphasized particularly important historical locations. This included publicity given to "The Gogebic Stagecoach Robbery" which occurred on August 26, 1889 (see *Michigan History*, June, 1954); the discovery of an Indian dugout canoe, the preservation of two original deeds given to the Lac Vieux Desert Indians, and the erection of a geographical marker at the site where a government bench mark indicates that the location is the 90 degree meridian.

Book Reviews and Notes

Michigan in Four Centuries. By F. Clever Bald. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1954. xiii, 498 p. Illustrations, appendixes, and index, \$4.00)

Writing a good one-volume history of a state is a prodigious task which calls for the accumulation of a vast amount of data, the careful selection of the significant portions, and the reduction of the materials to fit into four or five hundred pages. Professor Bald approached his project with the high purpose of providing "both information and inspiration" for those who read this "record of the way of life" of the people of Michigan, and the result is an eminently successful book.

No two people would go about writing such a history in the same way. Professor Bald has chosen to present life in Michigan chronologically, that is, in a series of periods, beginning with the prehistory of the state and moving through the years of French and British control (1622-1796); the territorial period (1796-1837); the early years of statehood and the rise of a people determined to exploit the land and other natural resources (1837-60); the development of industry in the Civil War and Reconstruction period (1860-90); the awakening of civic consciousness and the expansion of the state's economy (1890-1920); and the period of economic debacle, readjustment, and prosperity, and of "social progress" (1920-50).

Within each of these periods Mr. Bald has presented a lively picture of the life of the people, dealing with the significant social and cultural changes, the progress in transportation and communication, the economic developments, and the shifting political scene. Synthesis admittedly is difficult in this method of presentation, but the aim was to portray life in periods that were significantly different in human outlook and activity.

There were certain sections of the book which were fascinating to this reviewer, who is not a Michiganiite. They included the accounts of the French in Michigan; of the beginnings of territorial administration and of the War of 1812; of the governorships of Stevens T. Mason; of the stories of logging and the lumber industry and of the copper and iron mines; of the lake shipping industry and the development of the lake canals; of Hazen Pingree and the reform and Progressive movements; and of the rise of the automobile industry. The chapter on the "Prosperous 1920's," with its brief analysis of the causes of the Great Depression and of the selfishness of the post-World War I period, and the chapter on the "Depression and the New Deal" are superb.

This reviewer's chief criticism of the book is its failure to include a good full map of Michigan. Frequent reference to the map is necessary while reading this volume. Other minor criticisms include the failure to deal more fully with the precontact Indians and the author's seeming lack of understanding of the historic Indian people, who are described as "not always cruel" and fickle in their contact with missionaries, and "irresponsible" in making treaties. The Ordinance of 1785 did not designate the procedure for purchasing land from the Indians, and under the Ordinance of 1787 the officials of the territory were appointed by the Congress. The President was not empowered to make the appointments until August 7, 1789. The story of the inland canals seems unfinished. The title pages to Parts IV and VI have been transposed in the book.

Professor Bald concludes his history with a list of significant events in Michigan history and their dates; a list of the governors of the state, with the dates of their service and their party affiliations; and a bibliography of selected books on Michigan history. The volume is nicely printed and contains many illustrations.

The Ohio Historical Society

JAMES H. RODABAUGH

Presbyterian Panorama: One Hundred and Fifty Years of National Missions History. By Clifford Merrill Drury. (Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1952. 480 p. Illustrations, appendixes, bibliography, notes, and index. \$3.75.)

Here is a moving story about the growth of a great nation and the part played by one of its daring churches. It has movement and life as it reflects the changes on the national scene. Success and failure, victory and defeat—it is a tale of the Church, human and divine.

It was written to commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the establishment in May of 1802 of The Standing Committee of Missions. This was the first agency created by any denomination to have continuous responsibility within the total national area for a program of missions on behalf of the church as a whole. Starting with the epoch of settlement beginning in 1562 with the first recorded Presbyterian service in what is now the United States, the continuous tale is told to 1952, the sesquicentennial year. The over-all review is that of 390 years.

In his *History of American Christianity*, L. W. Bacon claimed: "At the time when the Presbyterian Church suffered its great schism, in 1837, it was the most influential religious body in the United States." And the tragedy was that at the time of its greatest influence, the church divided. This is one of many indications of the very human aspect of

this church's life. Torn asunder by liberal and conservative influences, the church missed many great opportunities.

However, one needs only to read the diaries and the reports of these early missionaries to catch glimpses of the divine in these humans of mortal clay. Their concern at an early date for the American Indian and the American Negroes, shows a sensitivity of spirit. In 1801 John Chavis was appointed the first Negro missionary to work among his own people. Educated at Princeton and licensed by the Presbytery of Lexington, he was the first Negro to be ordained in the Presbyterian Church. In 1802 missionaries were sent to the Indians of Detroit.

The Rev. Clifford M. Drury, the author of this saga, is professor of church history at the San Francisco Theological Seminary. An authority on the history of the Northwest, he is constantly scouting for original sources and the lore of Americana. His book is well documented with a very helpful bibliography.

Under his Appendix A on local history there is a fine writeup on Michigan. The national experiment on the winning of the West under the so-called Plan of Union, 1801-1837, whereby the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians united in their missionary efforts, was tested in the territory of Michigan.

Detroit Presbytery

HAROLD F. FREDSELL

Michigan Through The Centuries. By Willis Frederick Dunbar. (New York, Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1955. xix, 1175 p. 2 volumes. Illustrated. Prepublication subscription.)¹

Many of our states, like Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Indiana, and Texas—to mention a few—have achieved far greater acclaim than has Michigan, for the writing and publication of state history. But in recent years Michigan has been coming of age, historically speaking.

New books of superior quality and an increasing quantity of general historical material on Michigan, have been appearing of late: historical fiction; scholarly as well as popular histories; specialized research studies; magazine articles and newspaper features, including a growing number of excellent centennials. These writings have attracted reader attention far beyond the shores of the Great Lakes area.

A significant addition to this growing list of Michigan material is the two-volume *Michigan Through the Centuries* by Willis F. Dunbar. It is a well conceived and generally authoritative work. These impressive

¹Volumes 3 and 4 of this publication are contemporary biographies entitled, *Family and Personal History*, written and edited by the publishers. These volumes are not included in this review.

volumes of more than eleven hundred pages present a swiftly moving, factual narrative slanted heavily toward recent and contemporary history. For the most part it is well written history. The reader will find it to be highly readable as well as informative. The author's purpose has been to genuinely facilitate an understanding of the factors and forces which have combined to make Michigan what it is today—a great state in a great nation.

Dr. Dunbar, professor of history at Western Michigan College, is to be commended for his over-all framework of organization by centuries, and for his greatly expanded treatment of modern and recent history, together with a broad, topical presentation of society and institutions at mid-twentieth century.

In volume I the author's approach is essentially in the pattern of traditional, chronological history. In one hundred pages the story sweeps through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, relating adequately the more dramatic stories of discovery and exploration and the great international struggle between the English and French for domination of the interior of America. Twenty chapters, or four-fifths of the volume, deal with the last 150 years of the total story which extends across three and a half centuries.

The most significant chapters, perhaps, in volume I are those which constitute Part Four, the Twentieth Century—First Half. The titles are: The Coming of the Automobile, The Transformation of Rural Life, The Speeding Tempo of Urbanization, The Enrichment of Cultural Life, The Growth of Social Consciousness, Big Government and Politics, and Michigan and the World View at Mid-Century. In these chapters Professor Dunbar has scored an achievement in synthesis and interpretation, depicting the transformation of Michigan from an "extractive economy to a processing economy".

Volume II, dealing with the contemporary scene at mid-century with relevant historical background woven in, is divided into four major parts: (1) At Work, (2) Mind and Spirit, (3) Recreation, and (4) Government. Six chapters in the section entitled At Work, present a broad survey of economic trends under the headings of farming, manufacturing, transportation, communication, tourist, resort, and vacation industries, and commerce; besides six additional chapters on the occupational professions of law, healing arts, press, radio and TV, and engineering. The section on Mind and Spirit presents five chapters on various aspects of education, and five chapters on the fine arts—literature, music, theater, painting and sculpture, and architecture. Two chapters cover religion and the church, and clubs, societies and associations. The topic of recreation is treated in three chapters: amusements and sports, parks and playgrounds, and professional athletics. The final section of the volume allocates eight chapters to the presentation of the structure and processes of state and local government.

The distinctive features of the second volume are its admirable overall organization, its broad coverage, and the clarity of analysis and interpretation. The author has succeeded in producing a skillful blending of statistical and factual information, drawn from scattered original sources, without obscuring the existence of the very trends and developments which he is seeking to establish.

The illustrations for the two volumes are adequate in number (284), but are poorly selected and are most unfortunately arranged for the best purposes of historical development and emphasis. Most of the pictures are of buildings: court houses, museums, schools, and colleges; views of industrial plants, air-views of many cities, as well as miscellaneous historical monuments, Indian relics, sport scenes and others of importance in the local history of villages, towns, cities, and industries. All pictures are black and white printed on the regular book paper with brief captions but with no explanations. Maps are few and of conventional form.

Bibliographical references "if you want to read more" are generally adequate, well selected, including the best readable material available, in most cases. Sources suggested in volume II are invaluable for further study.

The index at the end of volume II is excellent and should prove an adequate and useful reference aid. Besides, readers will welcome the large sized type used in text printing, but may find inconvenient the bulk and size of each book. The volumes are attractively bound in heavy maroon buckram.

Specialists, scholars, and even amateur historians will take issue with Dr. Dunbar on a number of points and problems of historical selection, organization, emphasis, and interpretation. They will detect minor errors of fact; and may well be irritated by certain generalizations, or omissions. Equally serious, perhaps, is the evident duplication and over-lapping of information and treatment as presented in volume I and in volume II. In the opinion of this reviewer, however, this latter problem is more apparent than real, for volume II attempts a re-orientation of Michigan history, topically, from the contemporary viewpoint of mid-century. It must be remembered that Dr. Dunbar has not professed to have written the definitive history of Michigan. Rather, he has pioneered along the less trodden path of modern and contemporary history: writing what needs to be written, for people today, based upon competent research and the skill and judgment of a trained historian.

It is regrettable indeed that Dr. Dunbar's excellent history is not more accessible to the reading public. This situation exists because of the nature of its publication and distribution: pre-publication subscription sales only, since it is not published as a trade item. Fortunately, however, leading citizens in a score of Michigan cities and towns now own this two-volume Dunbar history together with the two

companion volumes of contemporary biography written by staff writers of the publishing firm. Non-subscription readers will find these volumes in the reference rooms of most larger public libraries and in some school and college libraries.

Dunbar's history of Michigan deserves better treatment than to be relegated to the bookshelf for proud display alone. It deserves to be read and to be used.

Central Michigan College

ROLLAND H. MAYBEE

The Nightkeeper's Reports. By John H. Purves. Edited by Conrad Payne. (Jackson, State Prison of Southern Michigan, 1954. 143 p. Illustrations.)

The June, 1955 issue of *Michigan History* reviewed *The Nightkeeper's Reports*. As far as the editor knows, *The Nightkeeper's Reports* is the first book to be completely edited and published inside the walls of a state penitentiary.

How thoroughly edited the book had been was not known by the editor of *Michigan History* and the reviewer of *The Nightkeeper's Reports* until the editor received a communication from Mr. Arthur M. Smith of Dearborn, who is interested in unusual writings concerning scientific matters. The reviewer pointed out that John H. Purves, the author of the diary, had noted that a convict named Toombs, was working on a project which the diarist called "radiant energy." Mr. Smith became very interested in this matter and thought it would be desirable to have a photostatic copy of the entry relating to this early reference to electricity and light traveling in waves. He wrote Mr. Conrad Payne, the editor of *The Nightkeeper's Reports*, asking if he might have a photostatic copy of the entry and received the following reply from Mr. Payne:

4000 Cooper Street
Jackson, Michigan
May 6, 1955

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thank you for your letter of April 26, 1954, and your order for two copies of the *Nightkeeper's* book. They have been autographed, and forwarded to you under separate cover.

As to your questions concerning the entries of December 4 and 6, an explanation is in order.

The journals of *Nightkeeper Purves* were very old; many pages were torn and partially or completely missing. When the *Spectator* first began running this feature, many of the accounts were altered, and some were pure fiction, invented by whatever writer was assigned to do that feature.

In editing the book an effort was made to adhere to the original entries as closely as possible, but for continuity purposes it was sometimes necessary

to utilize the published portions of the *Spectator's* feature column on the nightkeeper.

The entries for December 4 and 6, fall into this latter category, and, in complete frankness, are no doubt fictitious—at least there are no original entries concerning this topic.

We regret that your interest has been unduly whetted in this instance, and that under the circumstances we cannot furnish photostat copies of these particular entries, for there are none.

If we can be of further help to you we will consider it a privilege.

Respectfully yours,

Conrad Payne

—79477—

The editor of *Michigan History* agrees with Dr. Eugene T. Petersen, the reviewer of the book, and with Mr. Smith in thinking that *The Nightkeeper's Reports* makes excellent reading and, with them, is looking forward to a sequel; but he wishes to warn the readers of *Michigan History* that any sequel no doubt will contain some bits of fictional writing and that, therefore, it will not be treated quite as seriously as was *The Nightkeeper's Reports*.

LEWIS BEESON

Proudly We Serve, a historical sketch of Central Michigan College by Administrations, 1892-1955, prepared by Rolland H. Maybee, professor of history and head of the department of social sciences, is a short (thirty-two unnumbered pages) pictorial story of the Mount Pleasant institution which started out under the name, Central Michigan Normal School and Business Institute, with the purpose to provide better trained teachers.

THE *Michigan Bell* IN THE AUGUST, 1955 issue celebrated its first half century of production. It was known originally as the *Michigan State Gazette*. In that period the number of company telephones has grown from 72,000 to more than two and a third million; the number of employees from 1,700 to nearly 26,000, it stated. The pictures are reminiscent and most interesting.

THE *Bulletin of the Michigan Secondary School Association* IN ITS JANUARY, 1954 issue carried a review by Ada Watson of *This Is Michigan*, and a review by Ellen Hathaway of the *Historic Michigan* map. The *Michigan Education Journal* featured the *Historic Michigan* map in its November, 1953 issue.

Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life 1840-1940. By Stevenson Whitcomb Fletcher. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1955. 619 p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$3.50.)

Here is a book that will be of wide interest to agriculturists the country over. Although written of and about the agricultural changes in Pennsylvania, it has its counterpart in most if not all of the states. Factual in nature, it weaves an interesting story of agriculture and farm life and the many changes which occurred from 1840 to 1940.

Starting with a general survey of the land, people, and types of farming in Pennsylvania, the author takes up in an orderly and well documented manner the development of the many phases of agriculture which changed farming from a self-sustaining unit, primarily engaged in feeding the farm family, to the commercial farm where most of the produce was raised for sale. The story of farm power from man labor to the ox, the horse, the steam engine, and finally the general purpose tractor and the improvement of the many farm implements, which paralleled the development of farm power, makes very interesting history. From the scythe, pitchfork, hoe, cradle, flail, hand sowing of seeds and hand harvest, we see the development of the drill, corn picker, combine, hay baler, mower, corn planter, and many other fitting, planting, cultivating, and harvesting tools which did much to change the agriculture of the nation. The changes in mechanization, transportation, and refrigeration are described in relation to soil management, crop production, dairying, and farm labor. Of particular interest are the many improvements in the handling of dairy products and perishable crops. The development of transportation and its impact on agriculture and farm life from practically no roads with travel by oxen to the horse, railroad, automobile, truck, bus, and airplane makes for interesting reading and excellent reference material. All of these changes in transportation and their relationship to the marketing of farm produce are included.

The author traces very interestingly the changes in the social life of the farm family from the husking bee, barn dance, and singing schools to the telephone, radio, movies, and television. Farm life from almost complete isolation to almost complete urbanization is an interesting phase of the book.

The relationship of government to agriculture over the century, the rise of farm organizations, the changes in formal education from a few months at the discretion of the student to the development of the Land Grant College, the extension service and agricultural research are all included in an interesting history.

Many are the changes recorded in rural living traced from the spring-house to the ice house, the refrigerator, and the deep freeze; from the

hand pump to running water in the home; from the candle and oil lamp to electrification, from broom to vacuum cleaner, from canning and curing meats and vegetables to commercial preservation of food. Included also are the changes in communication brought on by the invention of the telephone, the rural free delivery of mail, and the radio. The final chapters of the book deal with the rural school and church, farm health, and the place of the farmer and his family in modern day living.

With a well itemized table of contents, an index, and appended notes on reference sources, this book is not only interesting reading but will be valuable as a reference on the many and varied changes in agriculture during the period of 1840 to 1940.

Michigan State University

CARTER M. HARRISON

The Young Voyageur. By Dirk Gringhuis. (New York, McGraw-Hill Co., 1955. 202 p. Illustrations. \$2.75.)

Was there ever a boy who didn't dream of running away to face adventure and fun on a distant frontier? Fortunately for mothers, perhaps, these thoughts usually remain only dreams. Somewhat ruefully today's thousands of Davy Crockets do their shooting around automatic washers, and the only dust the Indians bite is in the confines of a friendly back yard.

Not so Davy O'Hara, the young adventurer, in Dirk Gringhuis' newest book. Davy dreamed of being a voyageur and living with the Indians. His dream became a reality after a hasty decision to run away with his voyageur hero, Jacques Le Blanc. Adventures follow thick and fast as Davy could not have picked a more exciting period in which to flee the country.

The scenes are laid in Michigan, for the most part, as this is the time of the Pontiac conspiracy. Dirk Gringhuis has captured the tempo of the time and has translated eighteenth century history into phrases that the seven to sixteen year olds can readily comprehend.

The volume is profusely illustrated by the author, who besides being an accomplished author is a well-known Michigan artist.

Michigan Historical Museum

EUGENE T. PETERSEN

Contributors

Clark F. Norton's interest in the St. Mary's Falls Ship Canal dates back to 1935 when he was a student at the University of Michigan. He received the A.B. degree from that institution in 1935, the M.A. in 1936, and the Ph.D. in 1940. Since 1948 Dr. Norton has taught at DePauw University, where he is professor of political science.

Roy F. Fleming is an educationist in Ottawa. As a young teacher he spent some time on Manitoulin Island and became much interested in the history of the upper Great Lakes area. His "An English Author on the Great Lakes," appeared in *Inland Seas*, Winter, 1954 issue. For many years Mr. Fleming has been a trustee of the Great Lakes Historical Society.

Donald L. Kinzer is an instructor in history at the University of Washington where he received the Ph.D. in the spring of 1954. His article on anti-Catholicism in Michigan and Wisconsin politics in the early 1890's is a by-product of his doctoral dissertation on the American Protective Association.

Mabel Bristol Yoder has lived near Almont all her life, except for the two years she spent as a student at Michigan State University. After her marriage in 1904, she and her husband engaged in farming, growing all kinds of fruit with sweet cherries a specialty. Three of Mrs. Yoder's five children also attended Michigan State.

Miss Lorna Weddle is an instructor at Northern Michigan College of Education at Marquette. She has done graduate work at Kansas State Teachers College and the University of Michigan. She received her masters degree from the University of Iowa.

Mrs. Lorena Adams received her elementary education in the schools of Lexington, Kentucky. She graduated from the Holly high school and received the B.S. and Master of Education degrees from Wayne University. For the past eight years she has been in elementary school work in Pontiac.

Dominic P. Paris is a teacher in the Livonia school system. He did his undergraduate work at Northern Michigan College of Education and received the masters degree in education from Wayne University.

Dr. Harold M. Helfman is Deputy Command Historian in the Office of Information Services at Baltimore. His "'Good Time' Laws Come to the Michigan State Prison: 1857-61," appeared in the December, 1951 issue of *Michigan History*.

Dr. Willis F. Dunbar is vice president of the Michigan Historical Commission and chairman of the committee on marking and registering historic sites. His history of Michigan, *Michigan Through the Centuries*, is reviewed in this issue.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT,
CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF
CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, MARCH 3, 1933, AND
JULY 2, 1946.

Of Michigan History magazine published quarterly at Lansing, Michigan, for September, 1955. State of Michigan, County of Ingham, ss.

Before me, a notary public, in and for the state and county aforesaid, personally appeared Lewis Beeson, who having been duly sworn, according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the Michigan History magazine and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933 and July 2, 1946, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to-wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher and editor are: publisher, Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, Michigan; editor, Lewis Beeson, Lansing, Michigan; managing editors and business managers, none.

2. That the owner is: the Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, Michigan; Lewis G. Vander Velde, president, Ann Arbor; Willis F. Dunbar, vice-president, Kalamazoo; Lewis Beeson, executive secretary, Lansing. No stock.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and the other security holders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: none.

Lewis Beeson, *Editor.*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 9th day of September, 1955.

Gertrude I. Domke, *Notary Public.*
My commission expires August 17, 1957.

Erratum

In publishing the map, "Paw Paw and the Railroads," which appeared facing page 146 of the June, 1955 issue of *Michigan History* in Thomas D. Brock's article, "Paw Paw Versus the Railroads," the key to the map was omitted. The key appears below.

- 1A Kalamazoo, Lake Shore and Chicago Railway, former Michigan Central.
- 1B Kalamazoo, Lake Shore and Chicago Railway, new right-of-way paralleling the Michigan Central.
- 1C Calico Grade, later Kalamazoo, Lake Shore and Chicago Railway.
- 1D Paw Paw Railroad, later Toledo and South Haven, later South Haven and Eastern.
- 1E Van Buren Division of Toledo and South Haven, later South Haven and Eastern.
- 1F Revision of Van Buren Division of Toledo and South Haven, later South Haven and Eastern.
- 1G Lake Michigan Division of Toledo and South Haven, later South Haven and Eastern.
- 2 Michigan Central Railroad, later New York Central Railroad.
- 3 Kalamazoo and South Haven Railroad, later Michigan Central.
- 4 Chicago and Michigan Lake Shore Railroad, later Chicago and Western Michigan Railroad, later Pere Marquette Railroad.
- 5 Grand Trunk Western Railroad.
- 6 Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad, later New York Central Railroad.
- 7 Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad, later Pennsylvania Railroad.
- 8 Chicago, Kalamazoo and Saginaw Railroad, later Michigan Central.

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The Historical Society of Michigan is an organization maintained and managed by Michigan citizens who are interested in the history of their state. It includes teachers, business men, professional people, and others who write history, study history, or just enjoy reading history. Its purpose is to encourage historical research and publication and to foster local historical societies throughout the state. Membership dues to individuals are \$3.00 per year; to libraries and institutions, \$5.00. *Michigan History* is sent to each member.

The Michigan Historical Commission is an official state body, consisting of six members appointed by the Governor. It was first established by an act of the legislature in 1913. The Commission is custodian of the state's archives; it compiles, edits, and publishes Michigan materials; and seeks to cultivate, through the Historical Society of Michigan and other groups, a continuing interest in the history of Michigan from the early times to the present.

Michigan History is a quarterly journal containing articles by qualified writers on Michigan subjects, reviews of books related to Michigan and its past, and news of historical activities in the state. Contributions are invited. Manuscripts should be submitted to the Editor, Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing 13, Michigan.

The Commission maintains at Lansing the Michigan Historical Museum, a rich storehouse of artifacts and documents related to the history of the state.

Among the activities of the Commission and the Society are the following: an annual meeting is held each year in October, at which tours and talks on Michiganiana are enjoyed; books and pamphlets are published from time to time; a conference on the teaching of Michigan materials is held annually; historical celebrations are encouraged in various parts of the state; a program of marking historical places is sponsored; guidance is provided to local governmental and state agencies on the destruction of useless records and the preservation of records having historical value.